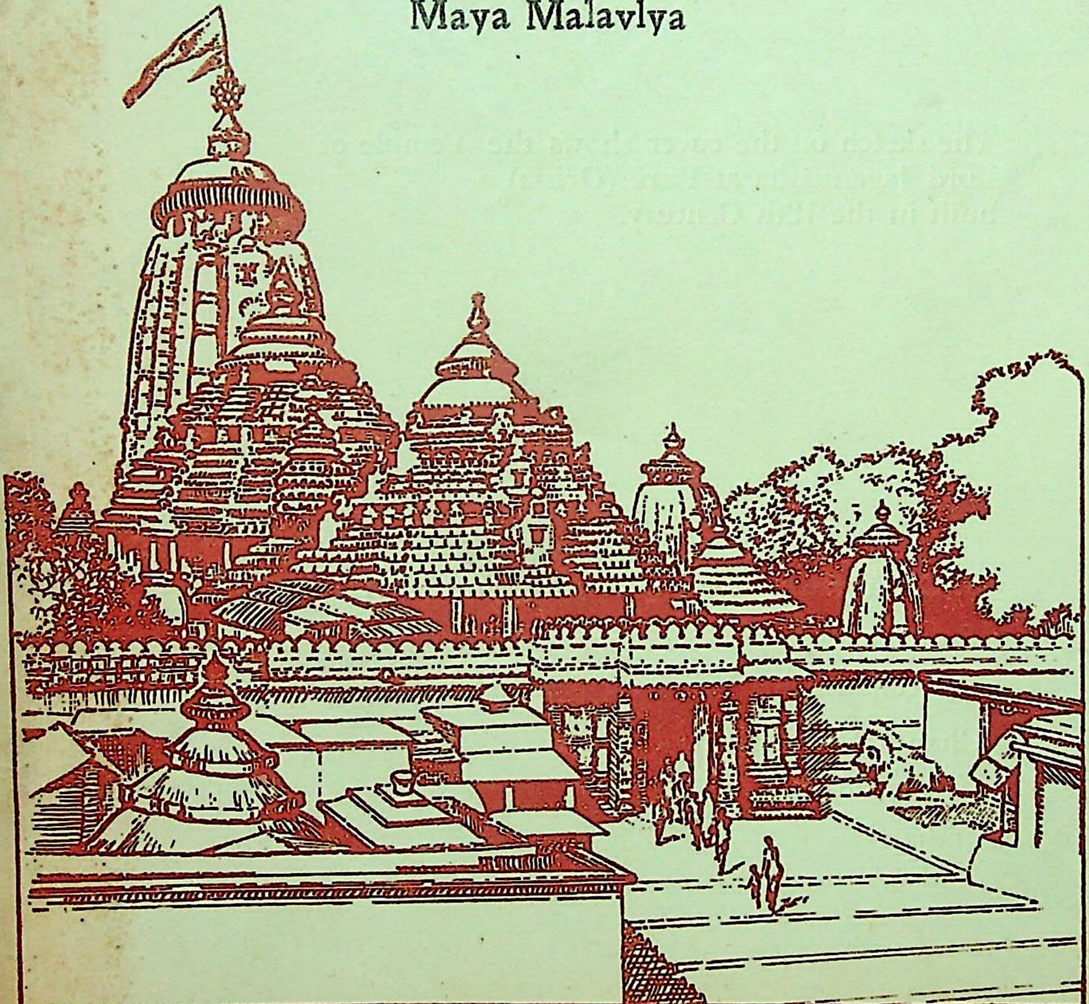
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Editors

G. C. Tripathi

Maya Malavlya



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The sketch on the cover shows the Temple of
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built in the 12th Century.

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CONTRIBUTION OF ANCIENT MADHYA PRADESH TO SANSKRIT LEARNING

PROF. K. D. BAJPAI

Sagar

Madhya Pradesh. serving as a link between the North and South India, provides ample literary and archaeological evidences as a source-material for its ancient history. A study of the languages and literature of the regions of Gopādri-Malwa, Vindhya and Chhattisgarh has been presented here.

Madhya Pradesh occupies the central position in the country. From the hoary past till the late medieval period, it served as a link between the north and south India. The literary and archaeological source-material has amply proved this.

The present state of Madhya Pradesh can be divided into three distinct regions for the study of the languages, dialects and literature during the ancient period. These regions are :

(A) Gopādri-Malwa Region

(B) Vindhya Region

(C) Chhattisgarh Region

LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

(*A*) *Gopādri-Malwa Region*

Before the rise of Sanskrit as the national language of the country during the Gupta period, very few Prākrit records are known from the Gopādri (Gwalior)-Malwa Region. From the 4th century A.D. onwards Sanskrit, written in the Brāhmī script, became the chief language of administration, communication and literary pursuits. In the 9th century A.D. Brāhmī was developed in the form of Nāgarī script, which became the common script of later times. The Paramāras and other ruling dynasties of the area got their Sanskrit records written in the Devanāgarī script.

Great Sanskrit poets and writers like Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Nayachandra Sūri, who were associated with this region, wrote their works in Sanskrit. The Prākrit languages, which had a long and continuous growth in the Malwa region, were also utilized by eminent Sanskrit writers. From the Prākrits were evolved the Apabhraṃśa languages in different parts of the country.

In the 14th century A.D. an important language was evolved in and around Gwalior. Mansingh, the Tomar King of Gwalior, was chiefly responsible for encouraging this language. Writers like Dalpati Rai have designated this language as Gwāliarī, which, according to him, furnished the requisite background to the later developed Braja Bhāṣā.

In the late medieval period, Gwāliarī (later called Braja Bhāṣā) was the chief language of the Gopādri region. In Malwa several dialects were current, the chief among them being Mālwī and Nimārī.

The tribals inhabiting the western and southern parts of Malwa have their own dialects, which are rich in folk literature.

(*B*) *Vindhya Region*

Sanskrit was the chief early language of the area and Brāhmī the main script. Prior to the Gupta period, a hybrid Sanskrit-Prākrit language was current in that area. This is borne out by several hundred votive inscriptions found chiefly at the Buddhist centres Bharhut and Sanchi. The Guptas, the Vākāṭakas, their contemporaries and the succeeding dynasties used Sanskrit as the language *par excellence*.

The Vindhya region had its long cultural associations with the Braja (Mathura) area. Braja Bhāṣā, the language of the later region had a deep-rooted impact on the Bundelkhaṇḍī dialect of western Vindhya region. As a matter of fact, both these—Braja Bhāsā and Bundelkhaṇḍī—had a common origin in the western Apabhraṃśa.

Baghelkhaṇḍa, on the other hand, was closer to the area of Avadhī. Hence, it had an obvious inter-relation with Avadhī. The local traits and traditions played their role in the development of the languages both of Bundelkhaṇḍa and Baghelkhaṇḍa.

From the 14th century A.D. Bundelī dialect with a strong admixture of Apabhraṃśa came to be used in the records of the Vindhya region. The earliest stone inscription in this mixed language was found in the Sagar district and is now deposited in the Nagpur Museum. During the period from the 16th to 18th century A.D. the mixed language in Devanāgarī script was current.

(C) *Chhattīsgarh*

The extensive region of Chhattīsgarh has a variegated language plethora. Its areas were inhabited by different stocks of people, who had certain distinct cultural patterns of their own, which they left on the dialects and literature of their respective areas. The dialects of Chhattīsgarh do not have much in common among them due to historical and cultural factors.

Prior to the evolution of different dialects, the chief language of the region was *Ardhamāgadhī Prākrit*. From it was evolved *Apabhraṃśa,* giving rise to eastern Hindi. The chief off-shoot of Hindi in this area vas Chhattīsgarhī. Baghelī and Awadhī were its other sisters. Chhattīsgarh has several other dialects, whose origin is traced in the archaic non-Aryan and Aryan languages.

The Chhattīsgarhī dialect of the Raipur-Bilaspur districts is regarded as the most representative one. The shades of difference between the dialects of these two districts are minor.

Apart from Chhattīsgarhī, other dialects used in the region are as follows—

(i) *Halwi*—The chief dialect of Bastar, Halwi is spoken by the Halwā and other people, who are also spread outside Chhattīsgarh. Halwi is not an off-shoot of Marāṭhī.

(ii) *Bhatarī*—It is current in the north-eastern border of Bastar. It is linked with Oria.

(iii) *Laria and*—
(iv) *Khalhāti*— } These are spoken in the Raigarh district and adjoining areas.

(v) *Sargujiā*—Dialect of the Sarguja district.

(vi) *Sadarī Korbā*–It is the dialect of the Korba people of Jashpur.

(vii) *Baiganī*–It is spoken by the Baiganī tribe who are spread from Balaghat to sambalpur.

LITERATURE

The region of Madhya Pradesh is fortunate in having preserved its ancient literature in the form of inscriptions written on stone slabs, copper plates, various other metals, wood, etc. The early inscriptions are mostly in Sanskrit poetry or prose. Several records in praise of kings and others, who made donations of various types for religious and social upliftment, are written in chaste poetic language. In course of time birch, palm-leaf and paper came to be used for writing purposes.

A few salient features of the ancient and medieval literature of this region are :

1. The variegated natural wealth of this region, abounding in hills, forests, dales, rivers and lakes, had its impact on the literary creations from very early times. Several inscriptions from Sanchi, Udaigiri, Mandsaur, Dhar, Sirpur, Malhar, Ratanpur, etc. give an eloquent testimony to this fact. Similarly, in the writings of some of the great Sanskrit poets, dramatists and novelists, such as Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Bāṇa and Rājaśekhara we notice the prominent role of the natural wealth and of the different categories of peoples of this area. The same can be seen in the later writings of the medieval and modern periods.

2. The fertile land and the bracing climate in major parts of Madhya Pradesh contributed considerably to a peaceful way of life, which can easily be discernible in the

ancient literature of this land. The extreme tendencies of dissatisfaction or revolt against the time-honoured principles of the Indian way of life or against its socio-religious set-up are almost absent in literature. Whenever the usual life of the people was disrupted due to famine, or a ruler's maladminisration or a foreign attack, the people of this region, including the writers, bravely fought against the natural calamity, king's misrule or against the foreign invasion. The ancient and medieval archaeological records and literary writings are replete with apt examples to confirm this. The subversive and disgruntled attitude of some of the present-day writers against the traditional or ennobling natural norms (which created among the masses a sense of heroic pride) was conspicuous by its absence in the past.

3. Being centrally situated, the region of Madhya Pradesh served as a meeting ground between the north and south India. In the fields of religion, literature and the plastic, pictorial and performing arts, the part played by this region as a link between the North and South was quite significant. The ruling dynasties and the rich business communities of Madhya Pradesh took delight in inviting to their places literary talents from all parts of the country and give necessary amenities to them for their creative work. Saints of different sects found a congenial atmosphere in central India for preaching freely their sermons and for establishing their centres. The people in general had a high regard for the spiritual teachers, who gave them the message of good-will and toleration. A mass of literature of different sects—both *Nirguṇa* and *Saguṇa*—was composed here and is largely preserved even today. The same was the case with the Buddhists, the Jainas, the Kaula-Kāpālikas, the Praṇāmīs, the Sūfīs and the followers of other faiths.

The Āśramas

The hermitages (*āśramas*) of *Riṣis* were located at various places between Citrakūṭa and the interiors of the extensive Daṇḍaka forest. These hermitages served as centres of education, where philosophical and religious literature was also produced. Generally, the *Yajurveda* and its branches were studied in these *āśramas*. The hermitage of Agastya was an important study centre, where various branches of higher learning in metaphysics were cultivated. This is borne out from the references found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Purāṇas and in the *Uttara-rāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti. Agastya was the first saint to cross the Vindhyas. He preached and propagated the Aryan culture in the lands south of the Vindhyas. In south India Agastya is regarded as a great saint who did considerable work in spreading the true Vedic philosophy. On account of the efforts of Agastya and his followers the Vedic studies took much deeper and firmer roots in the South as compared to the North.

Besides Agastya, other Riṣis who had their hermitages in the extensive Daṇḍaka forest were : Vālmīki, Gālava, Śukra, Mataṅga and Agastya's brother. Divākaramitra, a scholar contemporary of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, also belonged to the Vindhya forest.

Rock-Shelters

From the pre-historic times to the early historical period, the valleys of Narmada, Betwa and Chambal rivers in central India were largely inhabited by cave men. The Vedic literature, the two great epics, Purāṇas and the classical literature furnish interesting evidence about the rock-shelters and their residents in this part of the country.

The recent explorations and excavations, conducted at several sites, have confirmed the literary references.

The State of Madhya Pradesh can rightly claim to be the richest in India in this respect. More than two third of the rock-shelters in the entire country are located in about 25 districts of this State. Majority of the rock-shelters in M. P. bear paintings of various types on their walls and ceilings. The technique and subject-matter of the paintings in different parts of Madhya Pradesh clearly indicate certain regional traits, which differentiate one group from the other.

The problem of dating Indian rock-shelters is still a moot point. No definite consensus has so far been reached among scholars, particularly in regard to the dating of pre- and proto-historic rock-shelters. Roughly, the earliest painted rock-shelters are believed to go as far back as the upper paleolithic or Mesolithic times. The other limit is reckoned as late as the 14th century A.D. or still a little later.

The usual words for rock-shelters in ancient Indian literature are : *guhā, Kubhā, gahvara, girivivara, kandra* or *Kandarā, nirdara, darī* and *bila*. The great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who had a very clear idea about some rock-shelters in his time, gives some significant terms for them. These are *giryāśrama* (*Meghadūta*, I, 1 ; II, 38), *darīgṛha* and *śilāveśma*. The last word *śilāveśma* (or *śilāgṛha*) became current in ancient times. The present word *silaharā* is still survived in some parts of south-eastern Madhya Pradesh.[1]

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1. The present site of silaharā in the Shahdol district of M. P. has several rock shelters, some of them bearing Brāhmī inscriptions of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

The dark rock-shelters of the Himālayas referred to by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (I, 10 and I, 12) are more appropriately applicable to the shelters in the Betwa-Narmada valleys of Madhya Pradesh. The poet does not forget to mention the rock-shelters in the lower hillocks of Vidiśā, which were known for the amorous dalliances of the youthful courtesans.[2]

The *Amarakośa*,[3] composed in the Gupta period, gives the terms for rock-shelters and also makes a distinction between the man-made and the natural caves. The terms for the man-made (artificial) caves were *darī* and *kandara*. They were made in the form of a house by hewing the rock (*kṛtrimasya gṛhākārasya girivivarasya*). The second category was that of the natural shelters, which were called *deva-khāta* (carved by gods) and were thus non-artificial (*akṛtrima*). These were known by three names: *deva-khāta-bila, guhā* and *gahvara*.

The words *darī* and *kandara* indicate that the rock was cut out by implements. The term *guhā*, apart from the meaning of 'giving protection', seems to imply its association with the *guhas* or *guhyakas* who inhabited these rock-shelters. The word *gahvara* signifies a deep shelter.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the four terms, *kandara, nirdara, guhā* and *darī*, are mentioned possibly indicating a separate nature of each of them.[4] In the Ayodhyākāṇḍa, mountain Citrakūṭa is described as having some beautiful man-made shelters.[5] The word *nirdara* signifies the caves which were prepared by cutting out stones (*nirdarāḥ vidīrṇā-pāṣāṇāḥ*).

2. *Meghadūta*, I, 25.
3. *Amarakośa*, II, 1, 6.
4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa, 13, 6.
5. *Rām*.II, 92, 10.

In the Bāla-, Ayodhyā- and the Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, several references are found to rock-shelters. Due to the attractive natural site of Citrakūṭa on the river Mandākinī, several caves were carved out in the hill. Some of them are still preserved there. These were in addition to the natural caves in Citrakūṭa.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also gives a vivid description of the implements and their working for the preparation of artificial shelters. At one place, *kuṭhāra*, *ṭaṅka* and *dātra* are mentioned as the implements used for the purpose.[6]

The upper part of a rock projected out in the form of a cliff, providing protection, was called *dantaka* (as it looked like a row of teeth).[7]

In the Vedic literature we come across numerous references to rock-shelters and their residents.[8] The most common word used for shelters in the Vedic literature is *guhā*. The association of some Vedic deities, like Indra, with the rock-shelters or caves is quite significant.[9]

These references show a knowledge about the rock-shelters and their inhabitants (the Kirātas, etc.) during the early and late Vedic periods. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the active Kumāra Skanda came to be called *Guha* on account of his stay for sometimes in a cave.[10]

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6. *Rām*.II, 80, 7.
7. Commentary on *Amarakośa*, II, 3.6.
8. A few references may be cited here:
   Guhācarantaṁ ushijo namobhiḥ (*Rv*.X, 46, 21).
   Guhācarantaṁ sakhibhiḥ sivebhiḥ (*Rv*.III, 1, 9).
   Guhācaranti manuṣo na yośā (*Rv*.1, 163, 3).
9. *Ṛgveda*, I. 6, 5; *Athārvaveda*, XX. 70, 1, etc.
10. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 83.

The words *guha, guheśvara* or *guhāvāsī* are used for Lord Śiva also, who resided in a cave.[11] Those Yakṣas who protected wealth were called Guhyakas. These Yakṣas lived in secluded shelters.

The two great epics, the Purāṇas and the classical literature contain numerous references to the rock-shelters and their inhabitants, both human beings and animals. From the literary references we also learn that some of the shelters served as shrines, where images of deities were installed for worship. Some shelters were used for entertainments where festivals and dramatic performances were held. A few others served the purpose of resorts for love dalliances.

The Purāṇas mention several sages who lived in rock-shelters.[12] Their *āśramas* were located near the shelters. The *āśramas* were centres of religious and educational activities. At one place in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV, 72) the residents are called *guhāśayas*.

In some works there are references to hermitages of sages near rock-shelters. These were close to some river banks, where open air sites were preferred for putting up thatched hermitages (*parṇaśālās*). These sites were selected preferably between a hill and the river. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we learn that the *parṇaśālā* of Rāma and Sītā was situated between the mountain Chitrakūṭa and the river Mandākinī.[13]

In ancient literature there are references to rock-paintings and the colours used for preparing them. The

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11. *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 17. 60.
12. E. g., *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XXIII. 164.
13. *Rāma*.II. 92. 12.

reference in the *Meghadūta* to the preparation of painting on a rock with the help of red pigments (*dhāturāgas*) is of absorbing interest.[14] The *Amarakoṣa* specially mentions two kinds of colour pigments found in the hills. These were *manaḥśilā* and *gairika*.[15] When we study our rock-paintings, particularly of the Betwa-Narmada valleys, we find the use mostly of the red and ochre colours in their preparation.

In the works of Kālidāsa we come across some enchanting descriptions of rock-shelters. It is very likely that he had to stay for some time in a rock-shelter, most probably at Ramgarh in the Surguja District of Madhya Pradesh. His representative yakṣha could find there a bracing atmosphere for giving his love-message to his beloved through a cloud, the nature personified

The rock-shelter occupied by Kālidāsa (in his mental capacity of a semi-divine yakṣa) was, according to the poet, sanctified earlier by the stay of the great personalities, Rāma and Sītā. The place had become an *āśrama* due to its association with them. The opening verse of the *Meghadūta* furnishes an excellent eulogy (*dhyāna*) to Sītā and Rāma.

Scholars have generally thought that the *Meghadūta* does not open with the benedictory verse in honour of any deity, as is the case with his other works. But it is not so. The *Meghadūta* begins with the salutation to Sītā and Rāma in a manner which a poet of the stature of Kālidāsa only could do. The opening verse first mentions Jānakī and then Rāma.[16] The hillock where Rāma stayed was

14. *Megha*.II, 42.
15. *Amara*, II. 38.
16. *Megha*.I, 1.

known as Rāmagiri in the period when Kālidāsa wrote his work. The waters near that hillock were made sacred due to Sītā's having taken bath in them. In the 12th verse of the *Pūrvamegha* the poet again refers to that very hill which bore the foot-prints of Rāma.[17]

The problem of the location of Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa has been discussed for a long time past. Several localities have been identified with it. Professor V. V. Mirashi, followed by other scholars, has put forth the claim of Rāmaṭek near Nagpur for its identification with Rāmagiri. Some scholars, like Sri Sundarlal Tripathi locate it in the Koraput district of Orissa. There are still others who have tried to put Rāmagiri elsewhere.

It may be pointed out here that Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and a good number of reputed saints are associated not with one but several localities in the country. This was but natural. Names like Prayāga, Mathurā, Chitrakūṭa and Rāmagiri were given to several localities in the country after the chief original place-names. This holds good in the cases of popular *janapadas,* rivers, lakes and mountains also.

The regional geography in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa is chiefly concerned with the vast area of the present Madhya Pradesh. Kālidāsa takes unusual delight in describing the beauty of nature and the lively life of the people inhabiting the long stretch of land in this State from Rāmagiri in the east to Daśapura in the west (*Meghadūta*; I, 14-47). Daśapura was the ancient name of Mandsaur in the extreme north-west of Madhya Pradesh. As regards the location of

17. *Vandyaiḥ puṃsāṁ Raghupatipadairaṅkitaṁ mekhalāsu.* (*Megha*.I, 12).

Rāmagiri, it is more plausible to identify it with the hillock of Rāmagiri in the Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh than with any other site.

The internal evidence, particularly from the *Meghadūta,* supports this identification. The hillock of Rāmagarh, with the panoramic beauty around, tallies with its enchanting description given by Kālidāsa in verses 1-4, 12 and 14 of the *Meghadūta.* In the very first verse of the poem the great poet eulogizes Sītā and Rāma. It may be pointed out here that it was Kālidāsa who widely popularized the story of Rāma. It was from his time (5th century A.D.) that the cult images of Rāma began to be made and worshipped.

From Rāmagiri, Kālidāsa takes his cloud messenger to the north, then a little to the south-west and again to the north to reach Āmrakūṭa (Amarakaṇṭak in the Shahdol district of M. P.). The cloud passes over the fertile low land of the Māla region (north part of the Bilaspur Dist.) before reaching the heights of Āmrakūṭa. The hill of Āmrakūṭa and the river valley of Rewā (Narmadā) are described in no less than 6 verses (17 to 22). During its early course, the river is split up into several branches. This is described by the poet as 'spread on the uneven Vindhyan hill like the streaks on an elephant's body' (*Megha.* I, 19). The direction from Āmrakūṭa to the Daśārṇa *janapada* and its capital Vidiśā is given almost straight to the west, and hence no change of direction is suggested by the poet for reaching that area. From Vidiśā to Ujjain a diversion *vakraḥ panthā,* (*Megha.* I, 27) is suggested. After Ujjain to Alakā the route is to the north, and hence no diversion is hinted at.

A detailed study of the rock-shelters, inscriptions and sculptural remains at Rāmagarh was recently made by the author. Some of the rock-shelters (*śilā-veśma* of *Kālidāsa*) at Rāmagarh were found to be natural and others were man-made.[18]

Below the main hillock of Ramgarh there is a long natural tunnel measuring 450 feet in length. This is one of the unusually large natural tunnels discovered so far in the country. Near one end of this tunnel is a natural water flow terminating into a small reservoir called *Sītākuṇḍa*. According to J. D. Beglar there was a lake there, the waters of which eventually forced a passage through the spur by a long tunnel. (Cunningham, *ASI*, Vol. XXII, p. 41).

The rock-shelter known as 'Sītā Bengrā' represents a theatre (*Nāṭyaśālā*) as described by Bharata in his well known work *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the Sītā Bengrā shelter an extensive plain platform exists. It is flanked by two side rooms, which served as green rooms of the modern concept. The ceiling and the floor of the platform have round holes to support the wooden poles for making partition arrangement and for curtains.

The steps below the platform were made in decending order to serve as seats for the audience, who assembled to witness the dramatic performances.

The walls and ceilings of the *Nāṭyaśālā* had some Brāhmī inscriptions which are now mutilated. One important stone sculpture, assignable to the 8th century A.D., represents Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa standing, holding bow and

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18. Some interesting references to the rock shelters and their inhabitants can be seen in the *Megha*, I, 25 ; II, 42 and the *Kumārasambhava*, I, 10, 12, 14, etc.

arrow in their hands. There are several other stone sculptures kept inside the shelter. From the point of view of art, the delineation of the images of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is of a high order. The outer right side wall of the rock-shelter bears two ancient foot prints, said to be those of Rāma.

The adjacent rock-shelter, known as Jogimārā, bears several Brāhmī inscriptions on the walls and ceiling. The most important inscription written in bold Mauryan Brāhmī refers to a *Devadāsī* (dancing girl) called Sutanukā. The name of her lover Devadatta is also mentioned in the inscription. Devadatta is called *Rūpadakṣa* (proficient in the dramatic arts). The name of Devadāsī Sutanukā and her lover Davadatta are mentioned in several other inscriptions of the area.

These two important rock-shelters were painted beautifully. Some of the painted scenes are still preserved. Several of these were made during the Gupta period.

In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya references to some of the *janapadas* and towns of Madhya Pradesh are found. There is reference to *madhyama rāṣṭra* (probably the Vindhya region) in connection with the mines yielding hard precious stone (*vajramaṇi Arth.* II, 11). The names of Chedi, Karūsha and Daśārṇa are mentioned in the work (*Arth.* II, 2, 53). According to the author, Chedi (Bundelkhaṇḍa) and Karūsha (Rewa region) yielded good qualities of elephants superior to those of Daśārṇa. The country of *māhiṣaka* (around Māhiṣmatī in the Khargone District of M. P.) is mentioned (*Arth.* II, 11, 80) where cotton of good quality was produced. Similarly, the region of Avanti (Ujjayinī) is mentioned in the section of agriculture (II, 24).

In some of the early Purāṇas (e. g., *Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāyu*) references to the ruling dynasties of the Andhras, the Mitras, the Nāgas and the Maghas are found. These dynasties ruled over parts of central India. Names of several Āndhra and Mitra rulers, found in the Purāṇas, have been corroborated by the epigraphical and numismatic evidence.

In the *Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali* (c. 2nd century B.C.), reference to a journey between Māhiṣmatī and Ujjayinī is found. Gonarda, the birth-place of Patañjali, lay between Ujjayinī and Vidiśā.

In the early Buddhist and the Brahmanical literature (including the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas) several trade routes are given. One of the chief routes starting from Kauśāmbī went through Bharhut, Vanasāhvaya (Tumain), Vidiśā, Ujjayanī and Māhiṣmatī to Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan) and thereafter to Bharukaccha (modern Broach). Several of these towns, besides being trade centres, had become centres of learning. The rulers and business community patronized the scholars settled in these towns.

Classical Sanskrit and Prākrit Literature

Fortunately, a good number of early inscriptions of Madhya Pradesh from the 3rd century B.C. to the 13th century A.D. are preserved.[19] They throw valuable light on the language and literature of the period. From the Gupta period onwards the number of inscriptions becomes much larger. These are usually written in Sanskrit. The poetic merit of several records found at Sanchi, Udaigiri, Mandsaur, Eran, Gwalior, Dhar, Udaipur, Sirpur, Malhar and other places is remarkable indeed. Names of some of

19. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 307-50.

the writers of these records are luckily preserved. Mention may be made of Vīrasena, Ravila, Vāsula, Madana, Īśāna, Devagaṇa and the celebrated poet Bilhaṇa. These and a host of other poets wrote records in chaste Sanskrit poetry or prose. Various meters were used in the poems. Some of the inscriptions written in the Gupta and the early medieval periods exhibit rythmic flow of language and poetic excellence.

Kālidāsa, the greatest among the Sanskrit poets, spent the major part of his creative life in Madhya Pradesh. He flourished in the first half of the 5th century A.D. during the reign of the Gupta emperors Chandragupta-II and Kumāragupta-I. The mountains, rivers and forests of Madhya Pradesh had an immense fascination for a loving poet like Kālidāsa. Similar was the case with writers like Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Harṣavardhana, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi, Rājaśekhara and others. The natural beauty and the life of the simple, unsophisticated people of the region greatly inspired them. The writings of these and several other Sanskrit and Prākrit writers bear testimony to this.

Apart from his love of geography, Kālidāsa had a fascination for history. The proto-historic themes of Urvaśī and Śakuntalā have been immortalised by the great poet. He was familiar with the romantic episode of Vāsavadattā of Ujjayinī with Udayana of Kausāmbī. In his drama *Mālavikāgnimitra,* he has tastefully described the love between Mālavikā and Agnimitra (son of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga). The poet has also referred to the Greek invasion of the time, which had been repulsed by Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra.

Some of the descriptions of the great mountain Himālaya in the first canto of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* tally very well with the extensive Vindhyan range in M. P. This

particularly holds good in respect of the descriptions of the natural rock-shelters and their simple occupants. Several other eminent writers, after Kālidāsa, such as Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti and Bhāravi, have given tasteful accounts of the forest-life of the Vindhyāṭavī and Daṇḍaka.

Bāṇabhaṭṭa was most probably born and brought up near Chandreh in the present Sidhi District of M. P. He has left to us a graphic account of the area located in the valley of the Sone river. The description of the forest-life by Bāṇa remains an un-surpassed account on the subject in the entire Sanskrit literature. He has also given fine descriptions of the rivers Sone (*Śoṇa*) and Vetravatī (Betwa) and of the towns of Vidiśā and Ujjayinī.

Bhavabhūti, the noted Sanskrit dramatist (c. 700-730 A.D.), was associated with the Padmāvatī region (modern Pawāyā)[20] near Gwalior (ancient Gopāchala or Gopagiri). In the drama *Mālatīmādhava* written by Bhavabhūti, the name given for Padmāvatī is Padmapura. It was located on the confluence of the two rivers—Pārvatī and Sindhu. It was a rich town with magnificent buildings and was a great centre of the Vedic religion during the time of Bhavabhūti, who was a great poet and had performed the *Vājapeya Yajña*. His father Gopāla Bhaṭṭa was a poet. Bhavabhūti had an affection for the Padmapura town and lived there for some time. He completed his drama *Mālatīmādhava* there. This, and possibly the other dramas of Bhavabhūti, were enacted in the temple of Kālapriyanātha Sūrya, which was located near the present town of Kalpi on the bank of the river Yamunā in the Jalaun District of Uttar Pradesh.

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20. Padmāvatī was a flourishing town at least up to about 1,000 A.D. It has been mentioned by the Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Dhārā.

Bhavabhūti had a good knowledge of Vindhyāṭavī and the Daṇḍaka forest, which is borne out from his writings.

Other early centres of learning, besides Padmāvatī, were at Ujjayinī, Vidisha, Dhārā, Maheshwar, Tripuri, Śrīpura and Ratnapura. At these centres various branches of learning were cultivated.

Ujjayini

Ujjayinī was by far the most important centre of learning in this region. For a long period it was one of the chief centres of education in the country. Srī Krishna and Sudāmā are known to have taken their early education in the Sāndīpani āśrama at Ujjayini. A number of early dramatic works were composed and played there. Special mention may be made of *Caturbhāṇī* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The enthralling stories of these plays and those of Śakuntalā, Vāsavadattā, Kādambarī and other popular stories were enshrined in the hearts of the people of Malwa. The plays with these popular stories were often enacted among big audiances.

Of the *Caturbhāṇī,* the two plays (*bhāṇas*) *Padmaprābhṛtaka* and *Pādatāḍitaka* were composed and enacted in Ujjain. These two works contain ample interesting material bearing on the life of the courtesans (*gaṇikās*) during the 5th-6th centuries A.D. In the second drama there is a detailed account of the palatial residences of the famous courtesans of Ujjayini. In both the works details are found about the wards (*vīthīs*) inhabited by these ladies. Exquisite descriptions of their charms and their delicate dalliances are found in these Bhāṇa works. From the two plays we also learn that the Greeks and other foreign merchants, who came from far-off places, loved to stay in the

amorous atmosphere of Ujjain and visited the houses of dainty damsels, who were perfect in various fine arts.

Mṛcchakaṭika is an extra-ordinary dramatic work which throws valuable light on the life of different classes of people in Avanti during the Gupta period. Śūdraka, the writer of this drama, was in all likelihood, a resident of Ujjayini. This is borne out by the internal evidence of Mṛcchakaṭika and is supported by other evidences.

Quite a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods of Malwa and other regions of Madhya Pradesh furnish examples of poetic excellence.

The Paramāras

The Paramāra rulers, particularly Munja, Sindhurāja, Bhoja and Naravarmā, were great patrons of learning. Bhoja, the versatile scholar ruler of the dynasty, patronised a very large number of scholars of Malwa and other regions. Bhojaśālā, a unique centre of literary and cultural activities was established by him at Dhārā. Several contemporary and the literary jewels of Bhoja have been immortalized in Indian literature. Later writers have spoken highly of the contribution of Bhoja to Indian culture. Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, was the presiding deity of Malwa during his time.

Bhoja is known for the production of more than one hundred works on various branches of literature, sciences and technology. Some of the notable works are: *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Yuktikalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra*. There is no doubt that a large number of the works ascribed to Bhoja were written by other scholars under his patronage and general guidance. But Bhoja himself was the author of several of the works ascribed to him.

The literary works produced during the time of the Paramāras represent almost all the branches of learning. The work on ship-building entitled *Yukti-Kalpataru* gives a detailed account of the construction of various types of boats, big and small. Bhoja Paramāra used them chiefly for navigation to boost up industry and trade. The works on Dharmaśāstra, philosophy, medicine, astronomy and mathematics composed during the period throw welcome light on the advancement of knowledge in these fields. Some of these works are encyclopaedic in nature.

In the *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra,* one of the monumental works attributed to Bhoja, we find rich and varied descriptions pertaining to architecture, painting and sculpture. Iconographic details of various divinities are also available in this work. Several of these iconographic descriptions are not as complete and adequate as we get them in the works like the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā,* the *Mānasāra,* the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* or the *Aparājitapṛcchā.* The author of the Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra was evidently more concerned with architecture than painting and sculpture, much less with iconography. During the time this work was composed, the iconographic science pertaining to the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina pantheons had enormously developed in India. This is borne out by the extant texts on the subject and also by the numerous relics assignable to the period between c. 200 B.C. and 1000 A.D.

It is interesting to note that in the inscriptions of the time of Vākpatirāja Munja dated A.D. 974, 980 and 986, the name of Rādhā, the loving companion of Murāri (Krishṇa) occurs in the *dhyāna*-ślokas (*tad-Rādhā virahāturaṁ Mura-ripor-vvellad-vapuḥ pātu vaḥ*) with Krishṇa. This fact indicates that the close association of Rādhā

was well known in the Malwa region, much before the time of Jayadeva of Orissa, who widely popularised the name of Rādhā through his *Gītagovinda*.

Besides the three scholar-writers Munja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja, other writers who deserve mention are Padmagupta, Arjunavarma-deva, Dhananjaya, Halāyudha, Āshādhara, Merutuṅga and Dhanapāla. Padmagupta wrote a historical work called *Navasāhasāṅka-Carita*. It gives the early history of the Paramāras. This poet was a follower of Kālidāsa, and hence he was styled as 'Parimala Kālidāsa'. The nāṭikā *Pārijātamañjarī* is ascribed to Arjunavarma-deva. The work is incised on large slabs of stone, which are preserved at Dhār. Dhananjaya is well known for his work called *Daśarūpaka*. He also wrote a lexicon *Nāmamālā Kośa* and another work entitled *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya*, dealing with the history of Rāma and of the Pāṇḍavas.

Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha was in the court of Munja and wrote his well-known work *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā*. Āshādhara is the writer of *Dharmāmṛta*. The famous work *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi* was composed by Merutuṅga. This important work gives biographical sketches of historical personalities, such as Varāhamihira, Bhoja, Munja, Jai Siṁha and of several other writers. Dhanapāla wrote the prose work *Tilakamañjarī* which gives an interesting and useful account of the socio-economic life of the period. India's maritime activities and her trade-relations with south-east Asia are described in this work. Besides *Tilakamañjarī*, several other works are ascribed to Dhanapāla, including the Prākrit lexicon called *Pāialacchi-Nāmamālā*. He was honoured by king Muñja in his court. Jainism was on the progress in Malwa during the time of Munja and Bhoja.

Jainas contributed considerably to the economy of the period by giving impetus to industry and trade. This is borne out by the writings of Dhanapāla and other writers of the period.

During the 12th-13th centuries A.D. the relations between the Paramāras of Malwa and the Chālukyas of Gujarat were not cordial. Several Gujarat chronicles, particularly Jaina works, refer to the conflicts between the two powers. Mention among these works may be made of *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, *Kīrti Kaumudī*, *Kumārapāla Carita* and *Vasantavilāsa*. According to the *Kīrtikaumudī*, the Chālukya ruler Siddharāja Jayasimha, after his victory over Dhārā, went up to Kālanjara in the territory of the then Chandella king Madanavarmā (1128-65 A.D.). But the Chālukyan struggle against the Chandellas was inconclusive.

The Chandellas

The Chandellas of Jejākabhukti (Bundelkhand) patronized Sanskrit learning. Mādhava, the court poet of Chandella king Yaśovarmā (925-50 A.D.), wrote about the army and the victories of his patron. The famous writer Krishna Mishra wrote his allegorical drama entitled *Prabodha-Candrodaya* during the reign of Kīrtivarmā (1060-1100 A.D.). This ruler patronized Jaina scholars also.

Poet Nayachandra wrote his work *Rambhā-Manjarī* in the later half of the 12th century A.D. In this work the writer credits the Gāhadvāla king Govindachandra with the victory over Daśārṇa (eastern Malwa). This could have been possible with the help of the contemporary Chandella ruler Madanavarmā (1128-65 A.D.).

Paramardi (1165-1203 A.D.) was the last powerful Chandella ruler. He is credited with the composition of

Śiva-stotra which is inscribed on stone at Kalanjara. His court poet Vatsarāja wrote six dramas (Rūpakaṣaṭakam). These dramas were staged during the religious trips. In the reign of Paramardi flourished several other poets. Mention may be made of 'Kavi-Chakravarti' Gadādhara, Jaganika (author of *Ālhākhaṇḍa*) and Gaṇabhadra (author of *Dhanga-Kumāracarita*.

The Kalachuris of Tripurī and Ratnapura

The Kalachuri rulers of the early Medieval period were patrons of literature and fine arts. The drama *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara was written for display in the court of the Kalachuri ruler Yuvarājadeva. Rājaśekhara wrote other important works like *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and *Karpūramañjarī*, which evince his erudite scholarship as a writer, both in Sanskrit and Prākrit.

Pravarasena, the writer of *Setubandha mahākāvya*, was born at Tripuri. The famous monastery, called *Golakī maṭha* near Tripuri, was a great centre of Śaiva philosophy. One of the Āchāryas there was Somaśambhu, whose contribution to the development of Śaivism is noteworthy. Another great Śaiva centre during the period was at Gurgī in the Rewa District. It was a centre of the Mattamayūra branch of Śaivism. These and several other monasteries were largely responsible for the advancement of Śaivism and Śaktism in central India and the contiguous regions.

During the reign of Lakṣmīkarṇa, Tripuri and Bilvapurī or Pushpāvatī (modern Bilaharī) developed into centres of learning. Bilhaṇa, the writer of *Karṇa-sundarī* and *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* lived in the court of Lakṣmīkarṇa. Other well-known poets of Tripuri were Sadānanda, Gangādhara and Dharaṇīdhara, who enriched Sanskrit learning by their writings.

Māhishmatī (Maheshwar) on the Narmada was a great centre of culture. Here poet Murāri wrote the work *Anargha Rāghava.*

Govinda Yati, the preceptor of Achārya Śaṅkara was associated with Māhishmatī (modern Maheshwar in the Khargone District). Maṇḍana Mishra, the distinguished scholar of Mīmāṁsā, and his learned wife Bhāratī were residents of this town. Māhishmatī was an enviable centre of philosophy and of Anūpadeśa. Āchārya Śankara is said to have stayed there for sometime for study from the Guru.

Nāgārjuna, the celebrated Buddhist philosopher, was associated with Śrīpura and the adjoining areas. It was mainly due to his efforts that Buddhism gained importance and later on spread in the area of South Kośala, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Through these regions it went abroad in south-east Asian countries.

The three chief centres of South Kośala, Srīpura, Mallāla-pattana (Malhār) and Ratnapura, contributed largely to the development of learning in that area. Names of several notable writers are preserved in old records attesting to the fact that the Somavaṁśī and the Kalachuri rulers of that region made untiring efforts for the development of literature and fine arts. During the rule of these two dynasties and in the succeeding periods, strong cultural relations were established among the scholars of eastern Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The well-known Vaidarbhī style of Sanskrit poetry was cultivated in these areas right from the time of Kālidāsa to the medieval period.

During the early medieval period Rājaśekhara, Bilhaṇa, Īshāna, Devagaṇa, Śārngadhara, Nayachandra Sūrī, Padmanābha Kayastha, Kalyāṇamalla, Mitramishra and a host of

others produced sumptuous literature, which occupies a high place in the history of Sanskrit literature. The *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā* and the dramatic works of Rājaśekhara are well known. He has referred to the Prākrit languages spoken in Avanti, Daśapura and other places. Ujjayini was the chief literary centre, where the learning of scholars was tested (*śāstrakāra-parīkṣā*).

Bilhaṇa was a prolific writer, whose works contain interesting material bearing on the cultural life of his time. He had travelled a good deal and had graced the court of the Kalachuri king Lakṣmīkarṇa. His writing furnish valuable material for the history of the period.

Īśāna Kavi of Śripura (modern Sirpur, District Raipur) wrote the famous inscription for the Vishṇu temple built at Śripura by queen Vāsaṭā, mother of the Somavaṁśī ruler Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna. Another poet Devagaṇa composed the Ratnapura inscription of the Kalachuri ruler Prithvideva-II in 1150 A.D. Its flowery Sanskrit, full of rhetoric, is remarkable for its excellence. In the inscription the poet gives details about his family, including his own abilities as a poet.

Śārṅgadhara previously lived at Ranthambhor in the court of Hammīradeva. He later shifted to Gopāchala, the capital of the Tomara rulers. The work *Śāraṅgadhara Paddhati,* ascribed to this author, is the golden treasury of selected poems of a large number of Sanskrit poets.

Nayachandra Sūrī, a Jain scholar, was in the court of Vīramadeva, a Tomara king of Gopāchala in the first quarter of the 15th century A.D. He knew several languages and was a versatile scholar. His two historical works, *Ham-*

mīra-mahākāvya and the drama *Rambhā-Manjarī,* bear testimony to this. In 1420 A.D. Padmanābha Kayastha wrote *Yaśodhara-Carita* during the reign of the Tomara ruler Vīramadeva. These works are valuable for the study of political and cultural history. The *Caritas* and *Prabandhas* written by the Jainas during the early and late medieval period throw a flood of light on the historical geography.

Kalyāṇamalla, a Tomara king of Gwalior, was another gifted Sanskrit poet. The two works, ascribed to him are: *Anaṅgaraṅga* and *Sulmachcharita.* The first one is a well-known work on the art of love. The other work deals with the life of Sulaiman, his contemporary Muslim chief. These works were written between 1480 and 1488 A.D.

Mansingh (1436-1516), the Tomara king of Gwalior, was a well-known patron of literature, music and other fine arts. Due to his patronage and genuine interest several poets, writers and artists made several lasting contributions to their respective fields.

The medieval Sanskrit literature of the region had another stalwart, Mitra Mishra, the prolific writer on several subjects. He belonged to Gwalior but later on made his centres of activity at Orchha and Varanasi. At Orchha he received the patronage of the Bundela ruler Bir Singh Deva.

Mitra Mishra wrote *Ānanda-Kanda Campū,* a work of high literary merit, in 1631 A.D. The work throws ample light on the history and culture of the times. He also wrote on Mathematics. But he is chiefly known for *his magnum opus* on *dharmaśāstra,* called *Vīramitrodaya.* This work is divided into 22 sections and contains about two lakhs of verses.

APPENDIX

Bāṇabhaṭṭa

In the first chapter of his well-known work the *Harṣacarita,* Bāṇabhaṭṭa describes, in some detail, the river Soṇa (ancient name of Sone) and the region watered by it.[21] During the time of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (first half of the 7th century A.D.) this river was also known as 'Hiraṇyavāha'.[22] The name 'Hiraṇyavāha' for the river Sone was known during the Gupta period also. It indicates that in the ancient time gold was obtained from the bed of river Sone like several other rivers flowing through ancient Madhya Pradesh and Punjab.[23]

Bāṇa refers to the *āśrama* of Chyavana Riṣi located on the right bank of the river Sone. He also says that on the left bank of the river there was a smal *āśrama* of Sarasvatī. Reference to a village called Prītikūṭa is also found in the *Harṣacarita.* According to Bāṇa, it was founded by Sārasvata, the son of Sarasvatī and Dadhīcha, for his cousin brother called Vatsa.[24] This village is said to have been located close to the Chyavana *āśrama.* Bāṇabhaṭṭa was born in this very village. During his time it was inhabited mostly by Brāhmaṇas.

From the *Harṣacarita* it is known that the worship of Śiva was quite popular during Bāṇa's time in the extensive

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21. *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇayasāgar edition), pp. 19 ff.

22. "Hiraṇyavāhanāmānaṁ Mahānadaṁ Yaṁ Janā Śoṇa iti Kathayanti", Ibid., p. 19.

23. Cf. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical literature,* p. 1.

24. Cakāra ca tasminneva pradeśe Prītikūṭanāmānaṁ Nivāsaṁ, *Harṣacarita,* p. 38.

region on both the banks of the river Sone. Even before Bāṇa was born, the worship of Śiva was very popular in several parts of the Vindhya region. The extant ancient temple of Śiva near the village Chandreh on the river Sone in the present Sīdhī district of Madhya Pradesh seems to represent the site of the ancient temple of Śiva, which was in existence during the time of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. It was probably built on the spot where once the *āśrama* of the celebrated Riṣi Chyavana stood. The present temple, along with the Śaiva monastery, belongs to the early 9th century A.D. The structures, as they exist today, represent the elegant Nāgara style of temple architecture. The inscriptions, sculptures and symbolic Tāntrika representations discovered there are of great religious significance. Bāṇa was a devout of Śiva. Quite often he may have visited the temple at this site, which was close to his native place.

It is interesting to note that the description in the *Harṣacarita* of the village-life and of the forest called Vindhyāṭavī tallies very well with this part of the Sīdhī district. The graphic account of a forest-village, the daily routine of its people and the description of hunting by the *śabaras* in this region eloquently prove that Bāṇabhaṭṭa had a vivid knowledge of this part of the country. His patron Harṣa had to move about in the Vindhya forest in search of his sister, Rājyaśrī. It was in the fitness of things that Bāṇabhaṭṭa, with his personal knowledge of this area, could be a good guide to Harṣavardhana in Vindhyāṭavī. Bāṇa in his work has given almost an eye-witness account of the forest area. This description of the Vindhya forest is unique of its kind in Indian literature. Bāṇa was familiar with several other areas of central India, including the region of Malwa.

It may be added here that there is a strong tradition among the people of Chandreh and the neighbouring villages that Bāṇabhaṭṭa belonged to this area in the Sīdhī district. It is very probable that Bāṇabhaṭṭa was born there and he spent the early days of his life in this region of the Sone valley. In his later life he visited several parts of the country including the kingdom and capital of Harṣavardhana. The location of village Prītikūṭa may be sought for not far away from the present Śiva temple at Chandreh.

Efforts have been made to locate the birth-place of Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the Gaya district of Bihar.[25] Ācārya Kamala Kanta Upadhyaya has tried to locate it in the Shahabad district of Bihar.[26] These identifications do not appear to be convincing in view of the internal evidence obtained in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa.

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25. *Mādhurī* (Lucknow, Saṁ 1987), pp. 722–27; Agrawala, Harṣacarita, Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana, pp. 18-19.

26. Kamalakanta Upadhyay, Bāṇabhaṭṭasya grāmaḥ Prītikūṭaḥ, *Māgadham* (Arrah), pp. 60-65.

THE *ŚṚṄGĀRAVANAMĀLĀ* OF KAVĪNDRA GAṄGĀNANDA OF MITHILĀ

TRILOKANATH JHA
Darbhanga

Here an account of an unpublished, though incomplete manuscript, attributed to Kavīndra Gaṅgānanda of Mithila of 17th Century, has been presented. Gaṅgānanda introduced in his work a new type of *Nāyikā*, termed as *āgacchatpatikā*.

Right from the Vedic period Mithilā has carved a niche in the temple of Sanskrit learning. This tract of land extending from the Himālaya in the north to the River Gaṅgā in the south and the River Kauśikī in the east to the River Gaṇḍakī in the west has a unique distinction in keeping the glow of intellectual luminosity untarnished through the ages. The sons of the soil have contributed immensely to the advancement of learning. It is worthy of note that their contribution is not limited to any one branch of Sanskrit learning rather most of the branches flourished in this fertile land of erudition and imagination. So far as the origin and development of the different branches of Indian philosophy is concerned, the contribution of Mithilā is unsurpassed, nay, unequalled even. In the field of Kāvyasāhitya as well Mithilā has contributed a lot. Poets, prose-writers, dramatists and rhetoricians of note hailing from

Mithilā have enriched the Sanskrit literature by their valuable contributions. Besides, Mithilā's contribution is not limited to a particular period only. It dates back to the age of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and continues to the present day, the last of the line of eminent litterateures being the 20th century Kaviśekhara—the late paṇḍita Badarīnātha Jhā.

In the seventeenth century in Mithilā, a litterateur of eminence was born, Gaṅgānanda by name. His poetic talent fetched for him the coveted title 'Kavīndra'. There are numerous compositions to his credit. They are as follows—

1. *Bhṛṅgadūta*[1]
2. *Kāvyaḍākinī*[2]
3. *Karṇabhūṣaṇa*[3]
4. *Alasamodinī*[4]
5. *Śṛṅgāravanamālā*[5]
6. *Mandāramañjarī-Nāṭikā*[6]

Of these the first four are published and the last is only referred to in the author's treatise on poetic blemishes entitled *Kāvyaḍākinī*. The fifth, i. e., the *Śṛṅgāravanamālā* is available in the form of manuscripts. Unfortunately a complete manuscript is yet to be procured. There are only

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1. Raj Press, Darbhanga, 1915.
2. Saraswati Bhawan Texts, Benares, 1924.
3. Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1902.
4. Vishvesvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1964.
5. Available in incomplete manuscripts only.
6. Referred to by Gaṅgānanda. in his *Kāvyaḍākinī* (p. 44) as his composition. The manuscript of this *nāṭikā* is yet to be traced.

two available manuscripts and both are incomplete. However, on the basis of the available material an attempt has been made in the present paper to discuss the subject-matter of the work and also to throw light on the poetic talent of the author delineated therein.

That Kavīndra Gaṅgānanda hailed from Mithilā is established beyond doubt. He calls himself an inhabitant of Mithilā in the following lines of the *Śṛṅgāravanamālā*—

"bhānupautrītanūjena
mithilādeśavāsinā/
śṛṅgāravanamāle' yam
gaṅgānandena tanyate//"

He further calls himself a *'tairabhukta'*, an inhabitant of Tirhut in the following penultimate verse of the *Karṇabhūṣaṇa*—

"tairabhuktena dhīreṇa
gaṅgānandena nirmitam/
sarasvatyāvataṃsāya
spardhate karṇabhūṣaṇam//[7]

As stated above, so far as the *Śṛṅgāravanamālā* is concerned, the writer of the present paper has been able to procure only two incomplete manuscripts: first, Ms. No. 845 preserved in the Mithilā Research Institute, Darbhanga and second, a transcript copy of foolscap size containing thirteen pages copied by the late Kaviśekhara paṇḍita Badarīnātha Jhā in August 1932 from a manuscript in the

7. The writer of the present paper has discussed the age and identity of Kavīndra Gaṅgānanda in the introduction to his edition of the *Alasamodinī*.

possession of one of his cousins, the late Pt. Lekhanātha Jhā. The Mithilā Institute Manuscript containing six folios is 14″×5½″. It is written in Maithilī characters. It has 15 to 17 lines a page and 64 to 69 letters a line. Both these manuscripts are incomplete. The Mithilā Research Institute ms. extends upto the initial letter of the fourth foot of the verse illustrating *āgacchatpatikā mugdhā*. It is as follows—

> *"adyāyāti patis tave'ti nagarīyoṣāmukhotthaṃ vacaḥ*
> *śrutvā sphāradṛṣā sthitaṃ pathi palaṃ niṣpandayā mugdhayā*
> *paścād vīkṣya sakhījanasya vadanaṃ smeraṃ tayā lajjayā...nya//"*

The transcript copy breaks off earlier. The last verse therein is the following which illustrates *parakīyā vāsakasajjā*—

> *"rogavyājam upetya bhartṛśayanād anyatra talpaṃ dhṛtam//"*
> *nidrāvardhanahetave parijanaḥ kāmeśvaro bhojitaḥ/*
> *dṛṣṭvā viḥkṛtihuṃkṛtir mṛgadṛśā saṅketasaṃjñā kṛtā*
> *patrādau calite priyāgamadhiyā dvāraṃ tayā vīkṣyate//"*

The descriptive catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithilā mentions a complete ms. of the work under the caption *Vanamālā*[8] with one Bābū Nenamani Jhā of Bānki. The present writer has not been able to procure it. But fortunately both the available incomplete mss. start with the beginning of the work.

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8. Vide Vol. II, No. 44.

In the very opening verse the author pays obeisance to Lord Kṛṣṇa in the following manner—

"Kusumasurabhivṛndāraṇyasañcāraśālī
rabhasaracitatālī bhūtagandharvamokṣaḥ/
yadukulakamalālīkāntikṛd bhānumālī
vitaratu vanamālī modam antarjanebhyaḥ//"

Then he establishes the supremacy of the *śṛṅgārarasa*, and following the footsteps of Kavirāja Bhānudatta Gaṅgānanda proceeds on defining and discussing the different varieties of *nāyikā*. Gaṅgānanda gives his own verses as illustrations. His style is simple and lucid. For example, he says—

"śiśutām atha yauvanaṁ tanau
tava kalyāṇi viniścinotu kaḥ/
rajaner atha vāsarasya vā
nahi sandhyā samaye vinirṇayaḥ//"
"madano dahatyagamane
gamane lajjādhanāpaharaḥ syāt/
iti cintayā mṛgākṣī
gantum agantum priyāntikaṁ cakame//"
'vaṃśīvādanalīlā
sakhi kulaśīlāni khaṇḍayati/'
"Rāgo'sti te manasi madviṣayo na veti
yaḥ saṃśayo mama nipīḍayatisma cetaḥ/
nātha tvadīyanayane nayatā' nurāgaṁ
sa vyāhṛto'dya kṛtinā tava jāgareṇa//"

But at times Gaṅgānanda shows his predilection for figures of speech pertaining to words as well. To take an example—

"tārā tārāvalir iha nabho nā'sti naivātra bhūyaḥ

*pāthaḥ pāthoruhayugaṃ idaṃ mauktikam śukti-
śūnyam/*
*rāhor āho na bhajati bhayaṃ śītabhāḥ śītabhānuś
cetaś cetobhavavidhir ayaṃmohayanna' bhyudeti//"*

A special feature of the *Śṛṅgāravanamālā* is that Gaṅgānanda has introduced therein a new type of *nāyikā* naming her as '*āgacchatpatikā* (One whose husband is on his way back to his abode to meet her). He defines her in the following way—

*"priyāgamanavārtām yā
śrutvā kampādisaṃyutā/
modate kathitā' smābhir
āgacchatpatikābhidhā//"*

In support of his new classification he says that this variety of *nāyikā* is not subsumed under any other variety. She is a class in herself. His argument runs as follows—

"na cā'syāḥ svādhīnapatikāyām antarbhāvaḥ abhisārābhāvāt, na vā Kalahāntaritāyām antarbhāvaḥ saṅketābhāvāt, na vā vāsakasajjāyām antarbhāvaḥ vāraṇīyamābhāvāt, na vā virahotkaṇṭhitāyām antarbhāvaḥ vikalpaśatabādhyamānatvābhāvāt, na vā pravatsyatpatikāyām antarbhāvaḥ pravāsaniścayābhāvāt. tenā'tirktai'vāgacchatpatikā daśamī nāyike'ti."

Thereafter Gaṅgānanda starts discussing this type of nāyikā but unfortunately, as stated above, the ms. available to us breaks off in the fourth line of the verse illustrating the *mugdhā* variety of this type of nāyikā.

VEDIC MYTHICAL SYMBOL AND THE SCIENCE OF ETYMOLOGY

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The *Brāhmaṇas* often provide derivations of the words to explain the inherent metaphor which is a link between language and myth. Etymology makes one feel the breathing (pulse) of the word and the mental activity involved in naming of an object. It unfolds the meterphonic and mythical aspect of the word symbolizing poetic vision. The words refer to objects but also symbolize the response of the human mind at a certain moment. The science of Etymology enables one to know the mythical symbols of the words used in the *Veda*.

Along with the emphasis on multiple potency of the mythical or archetypal poetic symbol of the Veda, the Brāhmaṇas had introduced the method of tracing the word to its root as to unfold the radical metaphor. Vedic hymns themselves display an awareness of this aspect of Vedic poetry and its language. The Brāhmaṇas present mature and rich derivations (*Nirukti*) of the words and this method undoubtedly helps us to go to the origin of the mythical idiom of the Veda. It was recognised by the Brāhmaṇic thinkers that the mythical and the verbal thought are intermingled (*Vāk ca vai manaśca devānāṃ mithunam*) and the intellectual link between language and myth is mataphor. The mythical

matapbor, however, needs to be distinguished from the rhetorical metaphor which stands for a conventional expression. The real source of the mataphor is to be found in the very construction of language. Every verbal sound symbolises transmutation of a certain emotive experience into sound. The linguist mythists of the twentieth century are stressing this aspect of the relationship of language and mythology. Says E. Cassirer,[1] "Language and myth stand in an original and indissoluble co-relation with one another, from which they both emerge but gradually as independent elements. They are two diverse shoots from the same parent stem. the same impulse of symbolic formulation. springing from the same mental activity." Adalbert Kuhn and Maxmüller who introduced 'Comparative Mythology' in the later half of the 19th century, adopted the principle of basing mythological comparisons on linguistic comparisons. Maxmüller says "Mythology is inevitable, it is natural, it is an inherent necessity of language, if we recognize in language the outward form and manifestation of thought ; it is in fact the dark shadow which language throws upon thought, and which can never disappear till language becomes entirely commensurate with thought, which it never will...Mythology in the highest sense, is the power exercised by language on thought in every possible sphere of mental activity".[2] Though there are antagonistic theories regarding the priority of language over mythology or of myth over language yet one thing is certain that one conditions and determines the other. The principle of

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1. 'The power of Metaphor', p. 26. *Mythology*, C. Nicholls & Company Ltd., 1978.

2. Maxmüller, "The Philosophy of Mythology" appended to *The Science of Religion* (London 1873), pp. 353-5. Author's note.

tracing the word to its root makes one understand the pulse and rhythm of the word ; it leads to the cognitive mental activity that was involved in 'naming'. The naming of an object is indeed interpreting the reaction of the inner-consciousness to the stimulus. To go to that stage of language formulation, one has to persue the course of language not in progress but in regress and 'etymology' is a major way of doing that. When a word is traced to its origin it loses its rigidity. Thus the technique of etymology helps to reveal the meterphonic and mythical aspect of the word and specially of the poetic word. It unfolds the associative power of the word that symbolizes the poetic vision.

The principle of derivation or etymology is not meant for the words of common speech but for the words used in the poetic hymns of the Veda. Through 'Nirukti' the Brāhmaṇas as well as Yāska, are indeed working at the symbolism of the mythical poetry of Veda. All that is poetic, intuitive and seeric cannot be conveyed through the direct mode of expression (*Parokṣapriyā vai devāḥ*).[3] Yāska says at the very beginning of *Nirukta*,[4] that the *Nighaṇṭavas*, that he was going to explain, are the collection of words taken from the hymns of the Veda. *Chandobhyaḥ Samāhṛtya Samāhṛtya Samāmnātāḥ*.

These are the words employed in hymns ; these are poetic symbols which lead us to the ultimate meaning, the 'Mantrārtha', the vision of the poets. These are not simple words again because they have flown out of the divine ecstasy of the seeric moment of vision. We know that the moments

3. Cf. *Ś. B.* 1-4-1-36.

4. *Nirukta,* 1.1.

of divine and poetic vision and its expression cannot be separate. So these words are the components of the shining *vāk*. When a word of ordinary use is employed in a poem or hymn it is rendered divinely animated and becomes an eternal symbol. *Ṛgveda* says देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवाः[5] The divine concepts created symbolic language.

So the collection of words chosen for derivation by the Niruktakāra are the poetic symbols potent to convey the *Ṛṣi dṛṣṭi*. These are not isolated words but living and participating members of the poet's cosmos and vibrate with deeper and deeper and still deeper meaning and are mysterious like life itself. Yāska after discussing the method of derivation says *Arthanityo parīkṣeta,* that is, the derivation of a word must fit in the poetic context. After deriving a word to its 'root', Yāska generally cites the verse where the word has occurred to illustrate its signifying or the associative aspect. An adjective has associations only within the literary passage.

The poetry of the Veda is mythical poetry (*Devasya Kāvyam*). The myth and language are the two streams flowing out of the same mental function of symbolic formulation. We must understand it more clearly and deeply. At a certain moment the earth must have possessed the human mind by its vastness so it was named 'Pṛthivī' and at another moment it was captured by the shelter giving aspect of the earth and it was named *'Kṣiti'*. Similarly the name 'nadī' was given to a stream of water out of the moment of human mind's concentration on its aspect of sweet humming sound and 'Sarit' on its nature of flowing. So though these

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5. *R.V*.8.100.11.

words 'Pṛthivī' or 'Kṣiti' and 'Nadī' or *'Sarit'* refer to external objects, yet they also symbolize response that these objects must have awakened in the human mind. Generally when the words are used in ordinary speech, they denote the conventional meaning but when used in poetic language they transcend the limits of conventional meaning and are endowed with the possibilities of unbounded meaning. *Pṛthivī* (from the root *'prath'*) symbolizes vastness, extension and all—pervasiveness; it externally refers to earth, mid sky and heaven and on the other hand signifies the expanses of our inner self. *'Kṣiti'* when employed in hymnic poetry refers to all that which provides shelter, stability and peace and also the sub-conscious image of stability in the human mind. Similarly *'Nadī'* symbolizes sweet-humming course of life and the *'sarit'* mobility. The poetic use of these makes them mythical and *'pṛthivī'* and *'Nadī'* both become *Devatās,* the mythical symbols. Thus we see that the derivation helps us to reach the mythically signifying aspects of these words.

The science of etymology leads us to the discovery of the multi-level meaning of the Vedic mythical symbol. It leads us to the inner significance of the mythical word, to the essence from which it originated. In the later Sanskrit Kāvyaśāstra there is, however, two-fold view regarding the etymological meaning. Mammaṭa takes the etymological meaning as the primary meaning, whereas Viśvanātha does not agree with him.

The discussion surrounds around the question if there is indication in the expression *Karmaṇi Kuśalaḥ* or not. If it were said that the primary meaning of a word is what is gathered from its etymology, then in a sentence the *go* (cow)

is lying, there would be indication or *Lakṣaṇā* as the word '*go*' is formed from the root *gam*.[6]

Our contention is that the principle of etymology is not meant to know the conventional or the dictionary meaning of the words used in *Bhāṣā* but the mythical verbal symbols of *Atibhāṣā,* the poetic speech, a term used by Bharata for the poetic language of the Veda. The etymological meaning of '*go*' would rather transcend the conventional meaning 'Cow' and symbolize architypal concept of 'Movement' or 'gati' in general and used in the Vedic poem it would mean 'ray' that denotes the movement of the light of sun or the illumined consciousness and when it means 'speech' then also the 'movement' is implied because it is through speech that one communicates and the gap of the 'unknown' is abridged. So says the Veda— सं ते गाव स्तम आ वर्तयन्ति *Ṛv*.VII.79.2. In fact a mythical symbol has multiple resonances and 'the properties of the names used in a myth must be sought beyond the usual level of linguistic expression'.[7]

The Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads and later on, the *Nirukta* discuss the cosmic (*Ādhidaivika*), the social (*Ādhibhautika*) the microcosmic (*Ādhyātmika*) and the ritualistic (*Ādhiyājñika*) levels of the meanings of the Vedic mythical symbols. Durgācārya emphasises the symbolic or associative signification of the mantras and asserts that the comprehension of the meaning depends upon the comprehender's levels of understanding.[8] So the science of etymology is to unfold the symbolic mystery of the mythical and

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6. Cf. *Sarvadarśana Sangrahaḥ,* p. 348. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1951.

7. Guirat Jean, "multiple levels of meaning in myth".

8. Durga on *Nirukta,* 2.2.

poetic word of the Veda. Some scholars have worked on the etymologies of *Nirukta* with the only presumption that Yāska is trying to explain the meaning of Vedic words that had become obscure.[9] It is not correct because there are many words which have come down even to the modern Indian languages and their conventional meaning is well-understood but have been derived by Yāska. For instance the words *Agni, Ācārya, Sūrya, Svarṇa, Adbhuta, Kāru, Prācī, Māyā, Manīṣā, Varttikā* and many others can be cited. In fact the etymological method is adopted to reveal the concept inherent in the word. Many of the etymologies of Yāska which have been termed unsatisfactory and obscure and primitive, would be appreciated if studied in the context of the use of the word in the Mantra, that is with reference to the mythical pattern designed therein. For example the word *'dyumna* has been explained as the synonym of *'Yaśas'* glory, or *'anna'* food, tracing it to the root *dyut* to shine *-dyu-* (*dyut*)*-mna*. It is also used in the sense of wealth. The etymological meaning is thus 'resplendent'. *'Anna', 'Yaśas'* and *'dhana'* are resplendent and impart resplendence to a person at various levels and since the seeric concept is archetypal and multilevel, *dyumn* employed by the Vedic seer would carry all these resonances and point to the particular one depending on the level (physical, mental or social) at which the mantra is being understood.

The science of etymology (*Nirukta Śāstra*) is only meant for the words employed in the mythical poetry of the Veda. Though the same words are used in daily conversation yet they do not have the mythical form. So the principle of etymology is for the recognition of the mythical

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9. Mantrini Prasad, *Language of the Nirukta,* p. 14, D. K. Publishing House, 1975.

nature of the Vedic symbol and the discovery of its radical metaphor because it takes us to that moment of mental conceiving which is the source of language as well as of the myth.

SAMPRAJÑĀTA SAMĀDHI IN THE PĀTAÑJALA YOGA SYSTEM–DIFFERENCE IN INTERPRETATION BETWEEN VĀCASPATI MIŚRA AND VIJÑĀNABHIKṢU

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In *Pātañjala Yoga* system, *Samādhi* is a means as well as the end in itself (viz., self-realization). The distinction between *Samādhi* as means and *Samādhi* as end leads to distinction between *Samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta samādhi*.

Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu differ on the stage of *Sānanda Samādhi*. According to Vijñānabhikṣu, the *sūtra* of Patañjali and the *bhāṣya* of Vyāsa do not mention such a division. The author concludes that Vācaspati Miśra's classification of the *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga Samādhi* seems to be contrived and does not fit in the relevant *sūtras* and the *bhāṣya*.

Samādhi is mentioned as the last of the eight limbs in the *Pātañjala Yogasūtras*.[1] It is interesting to note that, in this system, *samādhi* is not only a means to the end but is also the end itself. For it is in *samādhi* that the final truth is realized. Thus *samādhi* is, to begin with, a means to self-realization and once perfected, is the end itself. In other words, one can say that, when looked at from the point

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1. यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि ॥ *YS*.II.29.

of view of the end *samādhi* or yoga (which are synonyms by this interpretation) can be understood in terms of 'restraint of the modifications of the mind'[2] and when understood as the means, is the stage of *samādhi* wherein the mind attains oneness with the object of meditation. Vijñānabhikṣu, while commenting on *Yogasūtra* III.3. makes the idea of *samādhi* very clear when he says that the distinction between *samādhi* as means and *samādhi* as end is as follows—(i) when *samādhi* does not result in complete possession of the mind by the object of concentration, making it appear as if it has lost its quality of cognition, it is still only the means and (ii) when the object of concentration takes complete possession of the mind then it is the end.[3] And then a distinction is drawn between *samprajñāta-samādhi* and *asamprajñāta-samādhi*. For what is achieved by *dhāraṇā* (concentration) and *dhyāna* (meditation) is only *samprajñāta-samādhi* which has to finally perfect itself into *asamprajñāta-samādhi*. Keeping this in mind, there are some who take *samprajñāta-samādhi* as the means and *asamprajñāta* as the end here.[4] Since the road to *asamprajñāta-samādhi* is only through *samprajñāta* they are mentioned as related to each other like the 'dvāra' and the 'dvārī'.[5] Thus in the Pātañjala Yoga system *samprajñāta-samādhi* is of paramount importance.

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2. योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः ॥ *YS*.I.2.

3. अस्य च समाधिरूपस्याङ्गियोगसंप्रज्ञातयोगादयं भेदो यदत्र चिन्तारूपतया विशेषतो ध्येयस्वरूपं न भासते; अङ्गिनि तु संप्रज्ञाते साक्षात्कारोदये समाध्यविषया अपि विषय भासन्त इति। तथा च साक्षात्कारयुक्तैकाग्र्यकाले संप्रज्ञातयोगोऽन्यदा तु समाधिमात्रमिति विभागः। अष्टानां चाङ्गानां फलद्वयं संप्रज्ञातयोगस्तद्द्वाराऽसंप्रज्ञातयोगश्चेति ॥ *YV*. under *YS*.III.3.

4. अङ्गं संप्रज्ञातसमाधिः अङ्गी असंप्रज्ञातसमाधिरिति कस्यचित् व्याख्यानम्।

5. तथा च द्वार-द्वारिभावेनापि ज्ञानस्यैव संप्रज्ञातयोगस्यापि मोक्षहेतुत्वं सिद्धम् ॥ *YV*. under *YS*.I.1.

Though the other aids like *yama, niyama,* etc., can be dispensed within the case of one who is a superior aspirant, even he has to go through *samprajñāta* in order to reach *asamprajñāta* or *nirbīja* (seedless) *samādhi,* which is the end in this system.

That *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta* as means to the realization of the final truth are accepted in other systems as well, is a well-known fact. In the system of Vedānta for instance, the yogic methods are adopted as the means to the realization of the final truth. It is interesting to note that, though Śaṅkara himself vehemently criticizes the Sāṃkhya System, the allied system of Yoga finds an unique place as the means to Brahma-realization in Vedānta.[6] But when Vedānta proclaims that *nirvikalpa-samādhi* is the stage when the truth is realized or, in other words, equates *nirvikalpa-samādhi* with *asamprajñāta-samādhi,*[7] *Vijñānabhikṣu* takes up cudgels on behalf of Yoga and explains that the Vedāntic *nirvikalpa-samādhi* is only the *samprajñāta* state of Yoga and will have to be equated with the *nirvicāra-samāpatti* of *samprajñāta-samādhi.*[8]

This brings us to the question of the different kinds of *samprajñāta-samādhi* discussed in the Pātañjala Yoga system.

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6. समाधिर्द्विविधः सविकल्पको निर्विकल्पकश्चेति ।..........अस्याङ्गानि यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयः ॥ pp. 109-11. *Vedāntasāra.*

7. निर्विकल्पकस्तु ज्ञातृज्ञानादिविकल्पलयापेक्षयाद्वितीयवस्तुनि तदाकाराकारितायाश्चित्तवृत्तेरतितरामेकीभावेनावस्थानम् ॥ *Ibid.,* p. 110.

8. एतेन यदाधुनिकवेदान्तिब्रुवा असंप्रज्ञातेऽपि निर्विकल्पमात्मज्ञानं स्वरूपसद्बुद्धिवृत्तिरूपं तिष्ठतीति वदन्ति, तदप्रामाणिकत्वेनैतद्भाष्यविरोधेन चोपेक्षणीयम्.... ......। निर्विकल्पं त्वात्मज्ञानं संप्रज्ञातकालीनज्ञानस्यैव निर्विकल्पकस्य लयस्य मानत्वाद् ॥ *YV.* under *YS.*I.2.

Samprajñāta itself is so-called because in this stage of *samādhi* there is a direct perception of the true nature of the object or because the object is known in its totality.[9]

The first mention of the various kinds of *samprajñāta-samādhi* is found in *sūtra* 17 of the *Samādhipāda* in the *Yogasūtras*. It is mentioned here that *samprajñāta-samādhi* is of four kinds which are distinguished as—(i) that accompanied by deliberation (*vitarka*) (ii) that accompanied by reflection (*vicāra*) (iii) that accompanied by bliss (*ānanda*) and (iv) that accompanied by the sense of I (*asmitā*).[10] Further on, in the same *pāda*, under *sūtras* 41-44, *Patañjali* gives a detailed analysis of the above-mentioned four types.[11]

The first variety of *samprajñāta* called *samprajñāta* accompanied by deliberation (*vitarkānugata*), has as its object of support any gross object.[12] It is further divided into *savitarka samprajñāta-samādhi* and *nirvitarka samprajñāta-samādhi*. What distinguishes the former from the latter is the presence of a thought—process in the former and the absence of that in the latter. Thus, if the object of support in *savitarka samprajñāta* is a cow, then in this stage

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9. सम्यक् संशयविपर्ययरहितत्त्वेन प्रकर्षेण ज्ञायते ध्येयस्य स्वरूपं येन स संप्रज्ञातः ।

10. वितर्कविचारानन्दास्मितारूपानुगमात्संप्रज्ञातः ॥ *YS*.I.17.

11. क्षीणवृत्तेरभिजातस्येव मणेर्ग्रहीतृग्रहणग्राह्येषु तत्स्थतदञ्जनता समापत्तिः । *YS*.I.41.

तत्र शब्दार्थज्ञानविकल्पैः संकीर्णा सवितर्का समापत्तिः ॥ I.42.

स्मृतिपरिशुद्धौ स्वरूपशून्येवार्थमात्रनिर्भासा निर्वितर्का ॥ I.43.

एतयैव सविचारा निर्विचारा च सूक्ष्मविषया व्याख्याता ॥ I.44.

12. तत्रालम्बने विराट्शरीरादौ प्रथमं यश्चित्तस्य स्थूलाकारत्वात्स्थूल आभोगः परिपूर्णता स्थूलयोर्भूतेन्द्रिययोरदृष्टाश्रुतामताशेषविशेषसाक्षात्कारः स वितर्क इत्यर्थः ॥ *YV*. under *YS*.I.17.

of *samādhi,* the mind becomes one with the cow, along with the idea that it is an animal, belonging to 'X', possessing a certain colour, having a long tail and so on. In other words, there is still a distinction between the object of *samādhi* and *samādhi* or the mind has not given up its habit of deliberation at this stage. This is thus the first stage in the progress towards Yoga. But when the mind gives up the act of deliberation and becomes one with the object, say the cow, devoid of its other properties, it is known as *nirvitarka* (super-deliberative) *samprajñāta-samādhi.*[13] As far as these divisions are concerned, both Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu are in agreement with each other.

Again when we come to the next stage of *samādhi,* i. e., that connected with *Vicāra,* there is no quarrel between Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu as far as dividing it into *savicāra* (reflective) and *nirvicāra* (super-reflective) are concerned. The difference between the *samādhi* connected with *vitarka* and that connected with *vicāra* is that, in the former, the object of support is a gross object, whereas in the latter, the object of support is any subtle object, beginning with the subtle-elements (*tanmātras*) and ending with *prakṛti.*[14] The difference between *savicāra-samādhi*

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13. ....अतोऽर्थमात्रस्य निर्भासो यत्रेत्यर्थमात्रनिर्भासाऽखिलविकल्पशून्या या समापत्तिः सा निर्वितर्केत्यर्थः ॥

YV. under *YS.*I.43

14. (a) तत्रैवालम्बने कारणत्वादिना'ऽनुगता ये प्रकृतिमहदहंकारपञ्चतन्मात्ररूपा भूतेन्द्रिययोः सूक्ष्मा अर्थास्तदाकारत्वात्सूक्ष्मो याश्चित्तस्याभोगः सूक्ष्मगताशेषविशेषसाक्षात्कारः स विचार इत्यर्थः ॥

YV. under *YS.*I.17.

(b) सूक्ष्मविषयत्वं चालिङ्गपर्यवसानम् ॥

*YS.*I.45.

and *nirvicāra samādhi* is that, in the *savicāra* stage the mind becomes one with the subtle object as limited by time, space and causality. Or, in other words, it is still associated with pleasure, pain, etc. But in the *nirvicāra* stage these limitations are absent.[15]

But when we come to the next stage of *samādhi*, i. e., that accompanied by bliss, Vācaspati Miśra and Vijñānabhikṣu do not see eye to eye in dividing it, as before, into two kinds as that having bliss and that devoid of bliss. Both of these commentators have a different understanding of this *samprajñāta* stage. Bhikṣu says that, when the mind passes beyond the stage of *nirvicāra-samādhi* then, as there is an increase in the quality of *sattva*, there is a direct experience (perception) of a special pleasure which can be called bliss or *ānanda*. Therefore, the *samādhi* connected with it is called *sānanda samādhi*.

But Vācaspati Miśra considers this *samādhi* as the stage which has as its object of support, the sense-organs. He has mainly understood *sūtra* I.17.[16] in the light of *sūtra* I.41,[17] which mentions the various kinds of *samāpatti*[18] in the

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15. या तु सर्वथा सर्वैः स्वरूपैः सर्वतो देशकालाद्यनवच्छेदतः समापत्तिः शान्तोदिताव्यपदेश्यधर्मानवच्छिन्नेष्वतीतवर्तमानभविष्यद्धर्मैरनवच्छिन्नेष्वतीतवर्तमान - भूतसूक्ष्मेषु जायते सा निर्विचारा ॥

YV. under *YS.*I.44.

16. Cf. Note 10 above.

17. Cf. Note 11 above.

18. *Samādhi* and *samāpatti* are not synonyms. Though *samāpatti* only occurs at the time of *samprajñāta-samādhi* it is the result or effect of *samprajñāta-samādhi*. Under *Sūtra* I.41. in fact Bhikṣu identifies *samāpatti* with 'prajñā' which arises in *samprajñāta-samādhi*.

अत्र संप्रज्ञातफलभूतायाः प्रज्ञायाः समापत्तिरिति.......

YV. under *YS.*I.41.

different objects as follows—"The balanced state of the mind which, like a precious gem, has (its) modification weakened, is the assumption of the form (of the supporting object) by gaining stability with reference to the knower (*grahītṛ*), the process of knowing (*grahaṇa* or sense organs) or the objects to be known (*grāhya*)". The significant words in this *sūtra* are *grāhya, grahaṇa* and *grahītṛ*. Summing up the discussion on *savitarka samādhi* and *savicāra samādhi,* before going on to *sānanda-samādhi,* Miśra specifically uses the words *grāhya* and *grahaṇa* saying—'In this way, having described the object to be known (*grāhya*), he (Vyāsa) describes the object which is a sense-organ (*grahaṇa*), through the words *ānanda,* etc.'.[19] Thus, having understood the third stage of *sānanda-samādhi* as connected with the sense-organs he explains the bliss (*ānanda*) which arises in this *samādhi* as due to the fact that the sense-organs evolve out of the sense of ego (*ahaṃkāra*) when the *sattvaguṇa* is predominant. And since *sattvaguṇa* has the characteristic of *ānanda* (bliss) this *samādhi* in the sense-organs has the nature of bliss.[20] He then goes on to divide this *samādhi* into two types as *sānanda-samādhi* and *nirānanda-samādhi.* But according to Vijñānabhikṣu, this *samādhi* cannot further be divided into *sānanda* and *nirānanda* types. Bhikṣu rightly points out that there is no strict equation bet-

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19 तदेवं ग्राह्यविषयं दर्शयित्वा ग्रहणविषयं दर्शयति आनन्द इति
TV. under *YS*.I.17.

20. प्रकाशशीलतया खलु सत्त्वप्रधानादहंकारादिन्द्रियाण्युत्पन्नानि । सत्त्वं सुखमिति तान्यपि सुखानीति तस्मिन्नाभोगो ह्लाद इति ॥
TV. under *YS*.I.17.

ween the *sūtras* I.17 and I.41.[21] Had it been so there should have been either a three-fold division instead of a four-fold division in I.17. or there should have been a four-fold division instead of a three-fold one in I.41. It thus appears that *sūtra* I.41 is only a general summing up by Patañjali of all the possible objects which can form objects of support for *samprajñāta-samādhi*.

Criticizing Vācaspati Miśra, Vijñānabhikṣu says that there is no authority in the *sūtra* or *bhāṣya* for this kind of interpretation.[22] Moreover, according to Bhikṣu, since the sense-organs are also gross the *samāpatti* connected with them should also come under the *samāpatti* connected with *vitarka*.[23] This argument is based on the theory that subtlety belongs only to a cause and not to the effect. Thus the sense-organs being products and not giving rise to any further effects are considered gross objects.[24] Then carrying the analogy further, since the *samāpatti* connected with the sense-organs comes under *vitarka*, there should be a

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21. यत्तु ग्रहीतृग्रहणग्राह्येषु..........ग्राह्यात् पृथगिन्द्रियेषु संप्रज्ञातो वक्ष्यते, तत्प्रकारान्तरेण संप्रज्ञातस्याखिलविषयसंकलनार्थमेव न तु वितर्कानुगतविचारानुगतान्यामिन्द्रियसमापत्तेरानन्दानुगतरूपभेदमभिप्रेत्य........ *YV*. under *YS*.I.17.

22. आनन्दस्य च सानन्दनिरानन्दत्वेन भेदो नास्ति सूत्रभाष्ययोरवक्ष्यमाणत्वादिति । *YV*. under *YS*.I.17.

23. इन्द्रियस्यापि स्थूलतया तत्राभोगस्यापि वितर्कमध्य एव प्रवेशाच्च ॥ *Ibid.*

24. (a) स्थूलं कार्यं सूक्ष्मं कारणम् । *YV*. under *YS*.I.42.

(b) तत्र स्थूलं द्विविधम्—भूतानि तन्मात्राणां कार्याणि इन्द्रियाणि चाहंकारस्य कार्याणीति । *Ibid.*

further division of it as *sānanda* and *nirānanda* based on 'connection with modification and absence of connection with modification'.[25] But in the *sūtras* I.42-45 there is no such division. In fact the *bhāṣya* under *sūtra* I.46 explicitly mentions that only *vitarka* and *vicāra samādhis* can be divided as *savitarka, nirvitarka* and *savicāra, nirvicāra samādhis.*[26] The non-mention of *nirānanda* and *nirasmitā samādhi* in this context makes it appear that Vyāsa did not have them in mind. Therefore, Vācaspati Miśra has problems while attempting to explain the above *bhāṣya* (under I.46) so as to include his two-fold division of *sānanda* and *nirānanda samāpattis.* In order to do so, he has to change the order of 'eva' in the *sūtra.*[27] But, as Vijñānabhikṣu mentions "when the word 'eva' can be explained satisfactorily as it is given in the *sūtra,* it is not proper to change its order".[28]

Thus, then, to go back to the discussion on *sānanda* and *nirānanda samprajñāta-samādhis,* it seems logical to include the senses also under the objects (both gross and subtle) and, therefore, as coming under *vitarka* and *vicāra samādhis.* Another valid criticism against Miśra's division is the meaning of the word *'hlāda'* itself. Vyāsa says that *'ānanda'* is *'hlāda'*[29] and nowhere has the word *'hlāda'* the

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25. ....तत्रापि वृत्त्युपरागानुपरागाभ्यां सानन्दनिरानन्दरूपावान्तर-विभागसंभवात्तदवचनेनागामिसूत्रभाष्ययोर्न्यूनता स्यात्........ *YV.* under *YS.*I.17.

26 तत्र स्थूलेऽर्थे सवितर्को निर्वितर्कः, सूक्ष्मेऽर्थे सविचारो निर्विचार इति.... *VBh.* under *YS.*I.46.

27. एवकारो भिन्नक्रमः सबीज इत्यस्यानन्तरं द्रष्टव्यः............ *TV.* under *YS.*I.46.

28. यथाक्रमस्यैवैवकारस्योपपत्तौ भिन्नक्रमत्वानौचित्याच्चेति ।.......... *YV.* under *YS.*I.46.

29. आनन्दो ह्लादः । *VBh.* under *YS.*I.17.

meaning of sense-organ (*indriya*).[30] To take recourse to a secondary meaning when a satisfactory explanation is directly available is also not correct. It is also not quite right to divide a stage which is accompanied by bliss into that having bliss at one stage and devoid of bliss at another stage.[31] Though the same criticism can be levelled against *nirvitarka* and *nirvicāra* as well, one could say that Vyāsa himself sanctions this division but not that of *nirānanda-samādhi*. Thus it seems logical to accept the view of Bhikṣu that there is no further division of *ānanda* as *sānanda* and *nirānanda samprajñāta-samādhi*.

The last of the *samādhis* mentioned in I.17 is the one connected with 'asmitā' or the 'sense of I'. 'Asmitā' is defined as the appearance of identity in the power of consciousness and in the instrument of seeing.[32] This is the 'sense of I' and it should not be confused with the ego which is *ahaṃkāra*.[33] 'Asmitā' has the form 'I am' or it can be described as the 'pure I feeling'. The *samprajñāta-samādhi* connected with it is *sāsmita-samādhi*.

Vācaspati Miśra once again divides this *samādhi* into two kinds as *sāsmita samprajñāta* and *nirasmitā samprajñāta*. Vijñānabhikṣu attacks this view also, using the same arguments which he employed in refuting the two-fold division

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30. न त्विन्द्रियं ह्लादशब्देन व्याख्येयम् लक्षणाप्रसङ्गात् । *YV*. under *YS*.I.17.

31. अतः कथं ह्लादवतः संप्रज्ञातस्य ह्लादशून्यत्वं........ *Ibid*.

32. दृग्दर्शनशक्त्योरेकात्मतेवास्मिता ॥ *YS*.II.6.

33. नाप्यहंकारोपरक्तचैतन्यमस्मिताशब्देन व्याख्येयम् लक्षणाऽऽपत्तेः ॥ *YV*. under *YS*.I.46.

of *ānandānugata samprajñāta*. Firstly, the *sūtra* of Patañjali and the *bhāṣya* of Vyāsa do not mention such a division. Secondly, the *samprajñāta* connected with 'asmitā' having reference to the *puruṣa* alone, or the 'I sense', has no scope for a two-fold division. If, in order to accommodate Miśra's view, one understands *puruṣa* connected with *ahaṃkāra* as the meaning of the word 'asmitā', that will be tantamount to resorting to a secondary meaning. Again, it is not possible to conceive of *samprajñāta-samādhi* connected with the 'I sense' as devoid of the 'I sense' (*nirasmitā*).[34]

Therefore, it can be said that, if looked at from the point of view of the objects of support (*grāhya* and *grahītṛ*) the *samāpattis* can be considered as five—two connected to gross objects, two connected to subtle objects and one connected with the 'sense of I'.[35] By looking at it from another angle or from the point of view of the result achieved, the *samāpattis* can be considered as six—*savitarka, nirvitarka, savicāra, nirvicāra, sānanda* and *sāsmita*.[36] Therefore, Miśra's classification of the *samādhis* as being of eight kinds seems to be contrived and cannot be straightaway derived from the direct meaning of the relevant *sūtras* and the *bhāṣya*.[37]

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34. कथं वा विविक्तचिन्मात्रसंविद्युक्तस्य संप्रज्ञातस्य तच्छून्यत्वमिति दिक् । *Ibid.*

35. तस्मादवान्तरभेदेन पञ्चैव समापत्तयः *Ibid.*

36. संप्रज्ञातयोगस्त्वानन्दानुगतमादायावान्तरभेदेन षोढैवेति । *Ibid.*

37. तेन ग्राह्ये चतस्रः समापत्तयो ग्रहीतृग्रहणयोश्च चतस्र इत्यष्टौ सिद्धा भवन्तीति । *TV*. under *YS*.I.46.

RESTORATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

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Chandigarh

The author in this paper deals with an undated *praśasti* from the region of the Gurjara Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla of Kannauj, which records the construction of a complex of three temples of God Viṣṇu and the assignment of three villages, named as *Yakṣa-pālaka, Gejjara* and *Pāṭalā,* for the *bhoga.* The author identifies these villages as *Jakhepāla, Ghaggar* and *Patran* and has also attempted to restore certain geographical names to there true original forms.

An undated *Praśasti*[1] from the reign of Mahendrapāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj, discovered at Pehowa and assigned to the last quarter of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A.D., records the construction of temples of god Viṣṇu by the sons of a provincial Tomara chief Jajjuka, a descendent of raja Jaūla.

Jajjuka and his three sons had entered the military service of Mahendrapāla. They built a complex of three temples at Pehowa. The temple in the middle was built by Gogga, that at the back by Pūrṇarāja and the one in front by Devarāja. For the upkeep of the three temples

1. Originally edited by G. Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. 1, p. 242ff ; and again by Sadhu Ram, *Journal of Haryana Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 16-25.

were assigned as endowment three villages, described in the inscription as Yakṣapālaka, Gejjara and Pāṭalā.[2]

Although, as far as we are aware, no attempt has been made so far to identify these villages, it is not very difficult to spot them. They all belong to one region which apparently, was controlled by Jajjuka and his sons. Yakṣapālaka probably refers to the village of Jakhepal or Jakhepalbas situated 29°.50′N×75°.35′E in Sunam tehsil of district Sangrur. Gejjara is village Ghaggar lying 30°.00′N×76°.05′E and Pāṭalā stands for village Patran situated 29°.55′N×76°.02′E both in tehsil Samana of district Patiala.[3]

These identifications provide good examples of the interesting phenomenon of restoration of geographical names in medieval India. Jakhepal would appear to be the corrupt form of Yakṣapura rather than that of Yakṣapālaka to which it has been restored in the inscription. There is no place-name resembling Gejjara in the region and the reference is apparently to the village of Ghaggar, so named after river Ghaggar flowing not very far from it. The form Gejjara obviously sounds more literary than Ghaggar which is crude and rustic. The present name Patran probably originates from Pratiṣṭhāna[4] by way of Pratiṣṭhāna>Pataṭ-

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2. v. 24 : यक्षपालकन मंको द्वि-ीयो गेज्जराभिधः ।
पाटला (ख्य) स्तृती (योऽपि ग्रा) मो भोगाय कल्पितः ॥

3. Names of these villages and their situation has been verified from the *Survey of India*, "Sheets No. 44N/12, 53B/4 & 53C/1 and from the *Gazetteer of India Pakistan*, two volumes, New Delhi 1953. For change of 'ra' to 'la' cf. the change of

मधुपुरी 7 महोली चर्मण्वती 7 चम्बल

4. For identification of Pratiṣṭhāna with Patran see O. P. Bharadwaj, "Purūravā's Pratiṣṭhāna", paper presented at the 1979 Waltair Session of the Indian History Congress.

ṭhāna>Pātaṭhān>Pātaḍān or Patran. The origin of the name and its historical associations having been lost it was amended to Pāṭalā which, even if not a fitting place-name, does appear more refined linguistically. This form of the name is met with in contemporary Jain works[5] also.

Language is subject to continuous change in its spoken form. So from Sanskrit we have Pāli, Prakrits, different Apabhraṃśas and finally the various current northern Indian languages and their many dialects. With the passage of time a geographical name is also transformed and in the process often gets too far removed from its original form and thus becomes unintelligible and grammatically unexplainable. So when later at some point of time, perchance, it comes to find place in a literary work or public or official record, the writer or the scribe concerned feels tempted to clothe it in suitable literary form and tries to refine it so as to make it look meaningful. Naturally the success of the attempt at restoration depends on the academic competence, historical knowledge, and level of common sense of the writer, composer or scribe. Several possibilities are open in his case. He may succeed in restoring the name to its true original form or barely in giving it a new literary form to satisfy the prevailing usage and grammatical norms without any relevance to its linguistic and historical past. He may even modify it so as to introduce an imaginary historical connection with some king, clan, community or tribe.

There is, of course, another equally important factor operating in the transformation of geographical names, independently of the process of linguistic evolution. This is the replacement of a name under orders of a Government

5. *Purātana Prabandha Saṅgraha*, Singhi Jain Series, p. 63.

who might be motivated by a desire to connect it with some personality or event or just to make it look meaningful as in case of the renaming of Mohali near Chandigarh to Sahabzada Ajit Singh Nagar, of Daulatpur-Nasirabad in district Gurgaon to Carterpuri and of Ropar to Rupnagar.

The process of restoration or change is continuous and an important geographical name with a very remote origin may acquire as many 'improved' forms as the number of attempts made at restoring or replacing it at various points of time in its long life. Here we shall take note of some cases of restoration of names only through the normal processes of change involving no official interest.

(A) RIVERS :

(i) *Sutlej*. The story of the celebrated river-name now spelled as Sutlej, but pronounced as Satluj, opens with the *Ṛgveda* and makes an interesting study of repeated Sanskritisation of a form that kept changing under constant usage. The *Ṛgveda* mentions it twice as Śutudri.[6] A couple of millennia later, by about sixth century B.C., we find it changed to Śatadru in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.[7] This form was grammatically easier to explain as शतधा द्रवति meaning 'which flows into a hundred channels'. The *Mahābhārata*[8] also takes note of this form of the name along with its derivation. This is in fact the most common form of the name and occurs in the Purāṇas[9] also. Sanskrit lexi-

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6. iii.33.1 ; and x.75.5.
7. Venkateshvar press, Bombay Ed. ii.71.2. (ii).
8. *Ādi*. 176.9. (ii) :

शतधा विद्रुता यस्माच्छतद्रुरिति विश्रुता ॥

9. See e. g., *Bhāgawata Purāṇa* 5.18.18 & *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 2.3.10.

cons,[10] however, record the name with slight variations as Śutudru, Śitadru and Sitadru. By about 1100 A.D. it had suffered further change and Alberuni[11] notes the spellings as Śatarudra which was probably the literary form then current in Panjab, side by side with Śatadru if not exclusively; the spoken form was Satladar. In this form too the name was loosely spelled as Śatarudra or Śatarudrikā by the writer of the *Skandapurāṇa*.[12] The Journey of the Sutlej from Śutudri to Śatarudrikā through Śatadru-Śutudru-Sitadru-Sutudri to Śatarudrikā through Śatadru-Śutudru-Śitadru-Sitadru-Satladar-and-Śatarudra illustrates how the process of re-sanskritisation of this name asserted at various stages only to be beaten by the all-powerful process of linguistic change which kept on operating even when a particular form was being refined and given a place in contemporary literature or written records.

(ii) *Somb*. Somb is the name of a small rainy-season nallah at a short distance from Jagadhri on the road to

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10. *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Bharatadvirūpakośa*: Also of course Monier Williams. Sitadru is noted by Nando Lal Dev. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient And Medieval India*, 3rd ed., Delhi 1971, p. 187.

11. S. M. Ali, *The Geography of the Purāṇaś* 2nd ed., Delhi 1973, p. 115. Moslem historians have noted the name in several forms that differ slightly. These are like Satladar, Satlader, Satlada, Satlet, Satlut. Vide Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, Allahabad, ed. 1964. Vol. iv, pp. 8, 51. Vol. i, p. 48 and Vol. v, p. 358, etc.

12. Śatarudra is mentioned in *Revā Khaṇḍa*, 2, 53 with Sarayu, Godāvari, Carmilā and Yamunā. Next verse mentions Śatadru also possibly by mistake. Śatarudrikā is noted after Candrabhāgā and Irāvatī (14) in *Revākhaṇḍa*, 22, 15 with Vipāśa, Sarayu & Kauśikī and apparently represents Śatadru.

Paonta. It flows parallel to another sister stream called Pathrala till the two meet and flow over to the Yamunā across the Western Jumna Canal at the syphon of the Dadupur Canal Works. In the age of the *Ṛgveda* there was one big perennial river in this region that rose in the Himalayas and followed a course[12-1] which was later to be dug out and utilised for the Western Jumna Canal by Feroz Shah Tuglak. This river was named Aśmanvatī[13] or Dṛṣadvatī,[14] both meaning stony, since it brought down too much of stones in its flow. It ran westward and joined the then mighty Sarasvatī below Hanumangarh to form with it the holy doab of Brahmāvarta.

As a result of a major seismic-tectonic upheaval, around 3000 B.C., which might well have been the event described as the Great Flood in literature,[15] it lost its entity and its two names lived on through the Somb and Pathrala torrents on this side of the Shiwaliks and the Assan and Ashmi on the other side of this mountain range. The Assan and Ashmi joined the river Giri to reach the Yamunā above Paonta. In this upheaval, the Sarasvatī also lost a major part of her waters which were diverted to the Yamunā through the Giri.

By the time of the Purāṇas the origin of the name Somb from Aśmanvatī was forgotten and it obviously needed a

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12-1. In the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford 1908), Vol. xiv, p. 234, this course is erroneously described as the torrentbed now known as the Chautang. The ¼" Survey sheets show the course of the Chautang far apart from the Western Jumna Canal.

13. X.53.8.

14. iii.23.4.

15. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i.8.1.1. and *Mbh.* Vana, 185, etc.

literary face-lift which the *Skanda Purāṇa*[16] accorded by re-Sanskritising it to Sāmbhramatī which is said to have been born along with the Sarasvatī. So the Aśmanvatī became Somb only to acquire an equally refined name in Sāmbhramatī.

(B) MOUNTAINS :

(i) *Shiwalik.* The name of the Shiwalik range of mountains originates from Śālvakāgiri.[17] The evolution took place through Śālvaka>Śālavaka>Śavālaka>Shiwalik. involving the metathesis of 'la' and 'va'. In the 12th century A.D. Shiwalik was re-Sanskritised to Sapādalakṣa which finds mention in the Gaya Inscription[18] of Kulacandra of A.D. 1170 and the Buddhagaya inscription[19] of king Aśokacalla of Kumaon of A.D. 1176.

The range was named Śālvaka or Śālvakā after the formidable tribe of the Śālvas[19-1] who were leaders of a confederacy of important tribes occupying the region all along the Shiwalik belt from the Gaṅgā to the Ravi, often extending to the valley on the other side so that the range came to be inseparably associated with them for a very long span

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16. Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 173.9-14.

17. Noted by Pāṇini in the *Gaṇapāṭha* under 6.3.117. See Kapila Deva Shastri, *The Gaṇapāṭha Ascribed To Pāṇini*, Kurukshetra 1967, p. 209.

18. Ed. Indraji Bhagwan Lal, *Indian Antiquary*, x.1881. pp. 341-347.v.11. (i) :

प्रख्यातं हि सपादलक्षशिखरिक्ष्मापालचूडामणिम् ।

19. *Ibid.*, p. 346.1.3 :

सगादलक्षशिवरिखपपेशराजाधिराज श्रीमदशोकचल्लदेवः

19-1. Śālva is also spelled as Sālva.

of time-possibly for a couple of millennia-from the earliest times to circa 7th century A.D., Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*[20] settles the location of some of these tribes definitely in describing them on the all-weather trunk-route that clung to the Himalayan foothills, for easy fording of the rivers before they gained in volume and developed extensive flood-plains. Starting from the eastern end they were the Śālvas themselves, the Yugandharas, Śaradaṇḍas, Bhūliṅgas, Ajamīḍhas, Ajakrandas, Bodhas, Bhadrakāras, Jābālas, Bhāṇḍijaṅghis, Tilakhalas and Udumbaras.[21]

So influential indeed were the Śālvas that apart from the mountain range a river was also named Śālvī[22] after them and a number of expressions involving them were included in grammatical works like the *Kāśikā*,,[23] a well-known commentary on Pāṇini. For example their king was called साल्वेयो राजा: their cow साल्वको गौः, their footsoldier साल्वः पदातिः a man of their tribe साल्वको मनुष्यः , their gourd साल्वका यवागुः their laughter and speech साल्वस्य हसितं जल्पितं and the roots produced in their country साल्वानि मूलानि. In the heyday of their power and glory they are recorded to have

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20. For identifications see O. P. Bharadwaj, "Gaṅgā To Ghaggar With Vālmīki", *V. I. J.*, Vol. xvii (1979), pp. 142-167 and "Vālmīki's Geography of Kurukṣetra", *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. x, Pt. 1, 1978, pp. 1-8.

21. Seven of these tribes, which were more prominent, are named in a traditional verse quoted by *Kāśikā* under Pāṇini iv.1.73 and by others. Under Pāṇini ii.4.58 *Kāśikā* itself adds three namely Bodhas, Jābālas and Bhāṇḍijaṅghis while two Ajamīḍhas and Ajakrandas are added by Patañjali under Pāṇini iv.1.170.

22. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, Vol. xxiii, p. 418.

23. The well-known commentary of Vāmana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. See under Pāṇini iv.1.169, iv.2.135, 136 and 166, etc.

pushed out even the great Kurus from their time-honoured strong-hold of Kurukṣetra.[24]

Like innumerable other tribes including their confederates the Śālvas eventually vanished into the melting pot of time and with them was lost and forgotten the genesis of the name Śālvaka. So when Babur entered India the name Shiwalik was explained to him as Savālakha, meaning a mountain range of 1¼ Lakh hills.[25] Of course, this new idea must have gained currency in the region some time before Babur's arrival and the re-Sanskritisation of the name to Sapādalakṣa was now only a very small and natural step.

However, whereas the evolution from Śālvaka to Shiwalik was the result of the natural philological process of linguistic change, several important factors facilitated and aided the conversion of Shiwalik to Sapādalakṣa. These were : (i) The disappearance of the Śālvas and their influence from the scene without any trace ; (ii) The emergence of the political unit called Sapādalakṣa signifying a state containing 1¼ Lakh villages. It must be noted that such a unit could not be visualised in case of hills since it was based on the number of villages in a state as the list of Sapādalakṣa units given in the *Skanda Purāṇa*[26] shows while there is no record anywhere of a Sapādalakṣa unit of hills ; (iii) The extension of the dominance of the Śākambhara Sapādalakṣa of the Cāhamāṇas[27] right upto the Shiwaliks which for that

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24. *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* 15.16.10-12 and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* ii.206.

25. *Bābur Nāmā,* Eng. Tr. A. S. Beveridge, Reprint, Delhi 1970, p. 685.

26. *Māheśvara Khaṇḍa,* 39.138-153.

27. Their sway extended over the territories of the chief of Pañcapura or Panjaur near Kalka who had been defeated by Pṛthvīrāja II. See Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties,* Second Ed., Delhi 1975, p. 74ff.

matter could even be called 'mountains of Sapādalakṣa' or सपादलक्षशिखरि and (iv) The migration to the Shiwalik areas of a large number of Rajput families including members of ruling houses from various Sapādalakṣa states in Rajasthan[28] who in all probability found it quite natural to plant the epithet of their old country on the new land of their adoption which further lent it to the mountain range.

(C) Regions:

(i) *Haryana*. The name Haryāṇā is now applied to that part of the country which, in very early times, was called Kurukṣetra after the Kurus. The geographical definition of Kurukṣetra as given in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[29] almost exactly matches the boundaries of the present state of Haryana which originally, as a regional name, actually embraced only the tract lying between 28°.30′ & 30°.N & 75°.45′ and 76°.30′E chiefly comprising the eastern half of Hissar district, part of Rohtak district and parts of the states of Jind and Patiala.[30] In other words it constituted the lower or western half of Kurukṣetra which is called Śaryaṇā in the *Ṛgveda*.[31] The name occurs in the *Gaṇapāṭha*[32] to Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* also with an alternative reading Śaryāṇa.

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28. J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, 2 volumes, Lahore 1933, Passim; and D. Berreman Gerald, *Hindus of the Himalayas: Ethnography and Change, California*, 1972, Passim.

29. v.i.i.

तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रं वेदिरासीत् । तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्धं आसीत् तूघ्नं म् उत्तरार्धः । परीणज्जघनार्धः । मख उत्करः ॥

30. *I. G. I.*, Vol. xiii, p. 53.

31. *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 364.

32. Shastri, p. 149 and V. S. Agrawala, *India As Known To Pāṇini*, 2nd ed., Varanasi 1963, p. 510.

The tīrtha described as Śaśayāna, later in the *Mahābhārata*,[33] lies in the same area and its name is, in all probability, a scribal error, substituting a 'śa' in place of the 'ra'. The transition from Śaryāṇa to Haryāṇā involves only the change of 'sa' to 'ha' which is a very common linguistic phenomenon.

Yet after a lapse of more than a thousand years, which obliterated the original connection, it sounded rather an odd name to the educated mind especially as the current form was used in *Apabhraṃśa* works like the *Pārśvanātha-carita*[34] of Śrīdhara composed in 1132 A.D. and contemporary inscriptions.[35] So the usual attempt at re-Sanskritisation followed which gave us some more literary forms

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33. It is located a couple of stages above Vinaśana : *Vana*, 80.120 :

शशयानं च राजेन्द्र तीर्थमासाद्यदुर्लभं शशरूपप्रतिच्छन्नाः पुष्करा यत्र भारत ॥

34. Dasharath Sharma, *New Light on the Tomaras of Delhi*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Agra Session December 1957, pp. 150-153.

35. Sarval Inscr. of V. S. 1384, *E. I.*, Vol. 1 (1892), p. 93ff :

देशोऽस्ति हरियानाख्यः पृथिव्यां स्वर्गसन्निभः। ढिल्लिकाख्या पुरी यत्र तोमरैरस्ति निर्मिता ॥

and Badayun stone Inscr. of Lakhanapāla, *E. I.*, Vol. 1 (1892), pp. 61-65 :

प्रख्यातो हरियाणदेशवसतिः श्रीसिंहपल्ल्यां द्विजो ।
बह्वज्ञो गुणवान् वसावन इति ख्यातः पृथिव्यामभूत् ॥

like Harayāla,[36] Hariyānaka[37] and Haritānaka.[38] Even modern scholars joined the race and in their individual wisdom restored the name to different forms like Harayāṇa[39] and Ahīrayāna[40] offering interpretations that on their very face appear ludicrous.

(ii) *Pachhad*. Pachhad is the name of a subdivision of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh. The Ghaggar or the Vedic Sarasvatī now takes its rise in this region in the area of the Lawasa reserved forest.[41] The word Pachhad is the Apabhraṃśa form of Sanskrit Prasravaṇa and Lawasa of Plakṣa. Pachhad survives in Pushto language[42] also where it denotes a region full of small streams as indeed the region

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36. *Skanda Purāṇa* (Kumārikā Khaṇḍa), 39.135 (ii): Hariāla is also mentioned in a late work *Rāja Vilāsa* of Māna Kavi A. B. L. Awasthi, *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, Lucknow, 1976, p. 36.

हरीग्राले च ग्रामाणां लक्षपंचकसम्मितम्

37. Bohar (Palam Baoli) Inscr. dated V. S. 1337 : *J. A. S. B.* Vol. XLIII (1874) :

अभोजि तोमरैरादौ चौहाणैस्तदनन्तरम् ।
हरियानकभूरेषा शकेन्द्रैः शास्यतेऽधुना ।।

38. Chauhan Praśasti of the Ajmer Museum, undated L.17. See Dasharath Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 2nd ed., Delhi 1975, pp. 180-181 :

बाष्पवारिणि कालिन्दी हरितानकयोषितां ।
सत्वाक्रान्तस्य मिलिता यत्प्रमाण रजस्वला ।।

39. Acharya Bhagwan Dev, हरयाणा की संस्कृति, Haryana Language Deptt. Chandigarh, 1968, p. 2, traces it to हर्याणे in *ṚV*.viii.25.22.

40. Buddha Prakash, "Glimpses of Ancient Hariyana", *Hariyana Research Journal*, Kurukṣetra University, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.

41. *Sirmur Gazetteer*, Simla 1969, p. 11f.

42. Balfour Edward, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, 9 Volumes, Reprint Delhi 1976, Vol. iii, p. 69.

of Pachhad is. Prasravaṇa in the name Plakṣaprāsravaṇa, of the source of Sarasvatī in the Brāhmaṇas, carries the same meaning which practically signifies the catchment area of the river.

Having lost its real significance during the long process culminating in the change from Prasravaṇa to Pachhad the name in its current form did not appeal to the literary mind who probably found it not only rough and rustic but also unintelligible. So they replaced it with Supārśva in the Purāṇas[43] as the name of the mountain-range in the area. Supārśva is the same as Pārśva (like Sumeru for Meru) and philologically hardly a step away from Pachhāḍa. Like Plakṣaprāsravaṇa it is also described as the region of the Sarasvatī's source as the mode of its association with the river in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*[44] implies. So Prāsravaṇa changed to Pachhad and again got Sanscritised to Supārśva.

(iii) *Sambhar*. Sambhar is the name of a lake[45] as well as a town[46] and the surrounding region[47] in the northern part of Rajasthan. The original name was Śakambhara which goes back to a very remote past. In the time of the *Atharvaveda*[48] it was known for its boxers. Śakambhara gradually gave way to the form Śākambhara which further

43. Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 78, 79. etc.

44. *Kūrma Purāṇa* 34, 34 (ii) :

सुपार्श्वस्योत्तरे भागे सरस्वत्याः पुरोत्तमम् ॥

45. *I. G. I.*, Vol. xxii, p. 19.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

47. It was a Sapādalakṣa unit and acquired considerable importance under the Cāhamāṇas.

48. V.22.4 : (ii) :

शकम्भरस्य मुष्टिहा पुनरेतु महावृषान् ॥

changed to Śākambharī[49] as a result of the association with goddess Durgā. *Skanda Purāṇa*[50] mentions the setting up of an image of goddess Durgā at the bank of the Sarasvatī in the region of the Sambhar lake. The change from Śākambhara to Sambhar needs no explanation. The latter form was re-Sanskritised to Sayambhara in the *Skanda-purāṇa*[51] where it is counted among Sapādalakṣa units, each containing $1\frac{1}{4}$ lakh villages.

(D) PLACES :

(i) *Ludhiana. Located* 30°.56′N×75°.52′E on the G. T. Road, about 100 kms. from Ambala towards Amritsar, Ludhiana is the headquarters of a district in Punjab. Although now flowing about 13 kms. to the north of the town the Sutlej once ran almost washing its walls. The old channel of the river still exists under the name 'Buḍḍhā Daryā'[52] or the 'old river'.

Originally called Ailadhāna[53] the name finds its earliest mention in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*[54] where prince Bharata is

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49. *Mbh.* Vana, 84, 13 :

ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र देव्याः स्थानं सुदुर्लभम् ।
शाकम्भरीति विख्याता त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥

50. Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 164.39 :

शाकम्भरीति विख्याता भार्याऽऽमीच्चण्डशर्मणः ।

51. Mansukhrai Mor, Calcutta, 1965, Kumāikā Khaṇḍa, 39. 138-153 ; 139 (ii) ;

तया संस्थापिता दुर्गा सरस्वत्या शुभे तटे ॥
सयंभरे तथा देशे लक्षः प्रोक्तः सपादकः ॥

52. *Ludhiana District Gazetteer*, Lahore ed., pp. 2 & 12.

53. For identification see O. P. Bharadwaj, "The identification of Ludhiana", *Purāṇa*, Vol. xvii, No. 2 (July 1975), pp. 106-117.

54. *Ayodhyā*, 71.2 :

ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरंगिणीम् ।
शतद्रूमतरच्छ्रीमान्नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥

described as crossing at this point the noisy and broad-channelled Sutlej, flowing westward, before attaining the smaller mountains or Shiwalik foothills in his march to Ayodhyā. Meaning the capital of King Aila or Purūravā son of Ilā,[55] Ailadhāna is a place-name with Dhāna ending like Vāṭadhāna,[56] Karadhāna[57] and Aṃśudhāna.[58] Evidently the town was christened by or after Purūravā Aila and its existence goes back to the earliest epoch of Indian history.

By the medieval period the process of linguistic change had taken its toll and eaten up the first vowel leaving the name as Lodhāna or Lohāna which is noted by the Moslem historian Mohammed Abul Qasim Farishta,[59] a contemporary of Akbar. The process of change from Lodhāna or Lohāna to Ludhiana was possibly aided by an imaginary connection of the name with the Lodis suggested by the deceptive phonetic similarity of Ludhiana with Lodiana which form is not traceable anywhere in literature or other written records.

The name Ailadhāna was thus first shortened to Lodhāna or Lohāna and again lengthened to Ludhiana.

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55. It is a Tatpuruṣa compound formation ऐलस्य धानम्= ऐलधानम्= Aila is derived as इलाया अपत्यं पुमान् ।

56. *Mbh. Udyoga*, 19.31 ; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 13, 37.

57. It is a P. G. W. site located on river Tangri near Ambala Cantonment. See Handa Devendra, Pre And Protohistoric Sites In District Ambala, *V. I. J.*, Vol. ix, ii (Sept. 1971), pp. 374-385.

58. *Rām.* Ayodhyā, 71.9.

59. Col. Briggs, *History Of The Rise Of The Mohammedan Power In India* (Till The Year A. D. 1612), Translated from the Original Persian Of Mohammed Kasim Ferishta, Second Reprint Calcutta 1966, Vol. i, p. 299 and Vol. ii, p. 123.

Also Kishori Saran Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay 1963 ; p. 81, n. 77.

(ii) *Thanesar*. Thanesar, also known as Kurukṣetra, is the headquarters of Kurukṣetra district. It is situated 29°.55′N×76°.45′E near the G. T. Road about 50 kms. to the south of Ambala. The original name of the town was Sthāṇvīśvara which finds mention in the *Harṣacarita*[60] of Bāṇa. The *Vāmanapurāṇa*[61] gives the same form of the name while explaining its origin. The form appears to find support from the *Avantisundarīkathā*[62] which describes Manu Vaivasvata as Sthāṇaveya, probably meaning that he belonged to Sthāṇvīśvara. Gradually the name changed to Thanesar which was re-Sanskritised to Sthāneśvara in later Purāṇas like the *Matsya*,[63] the *Padma*[64] and the *Devī Bhāgavata*.[65]

(iii) *Sonepat*. Sonepat, now a district headquarters in Haryana, lies 28°.55′N×77°00′E on the G. T. Road about 50 kms. to the north of Delhi. It is a very old town and finds place in Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha[66] under the sūtra 6.2.88 as Śoṇāprastha which gradually changed to Sonepat, locally

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60. Ed. K. P. Parab, Bombay 1912, Ch. III, p. 97.........
नामाभिहार इव कुबेरनगरस्य स्थाण्वीश्वराख्यो जनपदविशेषः ।

61. *Saromāhātmya*, 23.15. (i) :
स्थाण्वीश्वरे स्थितो यस्मात्स्थाण्वीश्वरस्ततः स्मृतः ।

62. Quoted by Bhagavaddatta, भारत का बृहद् इतिहास, Vol. 1, p. 327 : यस्स विवस्वतः सुतः स्थाणवेयो मनुः...........

63. 13.31 (i) :
13.31 (i) : स्थानेश्वरे भवानी तु विल्वले विल्व पत्रिका ।

64. *Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa*, 17.195 ; Also *Nīlamata Purāṇa*, 1054.

65. 7.30.61.

66. Shastri, p. 205.

pronounced as Sonapat.[67] Ignorance of the true origin of the name has, however, resulted in its restoration to Suvarṇaprastha.[68] It is interesting to note that the authors of the *Kāśikā*[69] have also noted a name Suvarṇaprastha under Pāṇini 6.2.87.

(iv) *Kamoda.* A village now called Kamodā[70] is situated 20°.55′N×76°.40′E about 15 kms., from Thanesar on the road to Pehoa[71] not far from the Sarasvatī river. It is associated by later tradition with the Pāṇḍavas[72] although originally it was named as Kalmāṣadhāma[73] after king Mitra-

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67. V. K. Mathur, *Sthānāvalī,* Delhi 1969, pp. 987 & 989, spells it both as and

सोनपत and सोनीपत

68. Mathur, *op. cit.,* p. 987. Prof. Jagan Nath Agrawal has very kindly brought to my notice an inscription on a small piece of stone 1.3″×10⅜″, now preserved in the Red Fort Museum, presented to Mr. Delmerick by the mutwalli of a Sonepat mosque in 1903, which is listed in Dr. Vogel's *Catalogue Of The Museum Of Archaeology,* Red Fort Delhi published in 1908. The inscription is dated V.S. 1347 Phālguna Śudi 5, corresponding to Monday, 5th Febr. A.D. 1291 and records the building of a well by somebody whose name is lost, in the village named Prastha, the first part of which is Suvarṇa–referring obviously to the village Suvarṇaprastha or Sonepat where the stone was found. The relevant verse 15 of the badly damaged inscription is :

संचिन्त्य संसारासारतां सुधी ।
[प्रस्था] भिधे सुवर्ण [दि] ग्रामे कूपमकारयत् ।।

69. p. 202.

70. *Gazetteer Of India and Pakistan,* Delhi 1950, Vol. i, p. 569.

71. Mathur, *op. cit.,* p. 138.

72. *A. S. I. R.* xiv, p. 100.

73. For identification, see O. P. Bharadwaj, "Gautama Buddha in Kurukṣetra", paper presented at the Punjab History Conference Patiala Session, February 1980 (published in *A. B. O. R. I.* 1980).

saha Kalmāṣapāda, son of Sudāsa, the famous hero of the Dāśarājña battle which is described in the *Ṛgveda*.[74] It is spelled variously as *Kammāsadamma*,[75] *Kammāsadhamma*,[76] and *Kalmāṣadamya*,[77] etc., in Buddhist literature. Unmindful of this early history the recent writers of Kurukṣetra Māhātmyas,[78] have Sanskritised the name to Kāmoda.

(v) *Bilaspur*. The town of Bilāspur 30°.15′N× 77°.15′E 67 kms. from Ambala on the road to Jagadhari is known for its ancient tīrthas of Kapālamocana[79] and Ṛṇamocana.[80] It finds mention in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*[81] as Vilāsapura, the capital of Śrīkaṇṭha Janapada which comprised the northern part of Kurukṣetra. Keeping in view the fact that the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is not a very old work the evolution from Vilāsapura to Bilaspur, involving very little change, is easily understood. However, there have already been efforts to re-Sanskritise it to Vyāsapura[82] in the erro-

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74. *Vedic Index*, Vol. ii, p. 454.

75. Bharat Singh Upadhyaya, Prayag V. S. 2018, p. 9.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 408.

78. Pt. Ramswarup, *Kurukṣetra Rahasya*, Jind, p. 44.

79. *Mbh*. Vana, 83, 137 and Śalya, 39. Also *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 3.49-51. For detailed information on Kapālamocana see Devendra Handa, "Kapālamocana—An Ancient Holy place", *Purāṇa*, Vol. X, No. 2, (July, 1968), pp. 148-153.

80. *Vāmana Purāṇa*, Sm.20.6. Also see *Kalyāṇa*, (Tīrthāṅka), Vol. 31, No. 1, (Jan. 1951), p. 66.

अभूच्छ्रीकण्ठनिलये विलासपुरनामनि ।
पुरे विनयशीलाख्यो नाम्नान्वर्थेन भूपतिः ॥

82. Shri Som Prakash Shandilya of Kanakhala, Haridwar has been propagating this idea through hand-bills and pamphlets for quite some time.

neous belief that it was the site of the hermitage of the traditional author of the *Mahābhārata.*

(vi) *Bhatinda.* Bhatinda, more popularly called Bathiṇḍā and situated 30°.10′N×74°.35′E, is the corrupt form of Vāṭadhāna[83] which was probably a name with the 'dhāna' ending like Ailadhāna, Śaradhāna,[84] Karadhāna and Śavadhāna.[85] The name was also applied to the region and its people and the Vāṭadhānas have been located on the basis of the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*[86] and the Purāṇas[87] in the part of the territory stretching from Pañcanada to the Ganges, over which the hosts assembled on the Kauravas' side spread at the beginning of the great *Mahābhārata* war. According to Pargiter[88] the Vāṭadhānas occupied the region on the east of the Sutlej and southward from Ferozpur which matches with the location of Bhatinda as its nucleous. The linguistic evolution is by way of Vāṭadhāna>Vāṭandhā>Baṭhiṇḍā, involving metathysis of 'dha' and 'na'. Since in its present form the name did not make much sense it came to be associated with the Bhattis and refined to forms like Bhaṭiānā,[89] Bhaṭṭi-dā-nagara[90] and

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83. For identification see O. P. Bharadwaj, The Ailadhāna-Ludhiana Equation-A Rejoinder, *Purāṇa,* Vol. xxi, No. 2, (July 1979), pp. 172-193, particularly p. 189ff.

84. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* xiv, 26.

85. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* 57.36.

86. Udyoga-19, 31, Bhīṣma-9, 47 and Droṇa-11, 17, etc.

87. *Vāmana Purāṇa* 13, 37. Also *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* xiv, 26.

88. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* Eng. Tr. with Notes. Reprint Delhi 1969, p. 312.

89. *I. G. I.,* Vol. viii, p. 91.

90. *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. xxiii, p. 5.

Bhaṭṭipiṇḍa[91] which is obviously a very recent occurrence since the use of the word 'Piṇḍa' in the sense of a village doesn't go back even upto the medieval period.[92] It is indeed so recent that place-names with 'Piṇḍa' have undergone no change as can be seen from instances like Pind Ahiran, Pind Dadankhan, Harsipind, Uchchapind, etc.

(vii) *Bayana.* Bayānā is a town lying 26°.50′N× 77°.15′E near Bharatpur in Rajasthan. It was named after the Bahudhānyaka clan of the Yaudheyas[93] who had shifted from the region of Rohtak and made it their stronghold at a later stage in their chequered history.

Local tradition connects the town with a name Śāntipura which is not confirmed from epigraphical and literary sources.[94] Two literary works, Tejapāla's *Varāṅgacarita* (V.S. 1507) and *Pasapurāṇa* (V.S. 1555), written during the reign of Daud Shah Auhadi (A.D. 1369-1459), name it as Śrīpathā of Bhadānakadeśa.[95] Yet another name Brahmavāda is given to it in inscriptions on Jain images install-

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91. Devendra Handa, "A Note On The Identification Of Ludhiana", *Purāṇa*, Vol. xix, No. 1, (Jan. 1977), pp. 233 237.

92. Only a modern Panjabi Dictionary *Guruśabda Ratnākara Mahānkośa* of Kahan Singh Nabha, Patiala 1960, p. 577, gives this sense in the 6th place among the definitions with the illustration Pind Ahiran.

93. See O. P. Bharadwaj, "Who Were The Bhādānakas ?" *V. I. J.*, Vol. xv, Pt. i, (March 1977), pp. 76-87, p. 86.

94. K. C. Jain, *Ancient Cities And Towns Of Rajasthan*, Delhi 1972, p. 148.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 152 and n. 5. Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, Bikaner 1966, Vol. i, p. 22. Cites Tejapāla's *Saṃbhavanāthacharita* on the same point.

ed in local temples in A.D. 1403, 1439, 1448 and 1456[96] and in another inscription recording the construction of the Paḍgāha of a temple here by some Śrāvakas in 1621 A.D.[97] During the Moslem period it was renamed Sultan-koṭa but luckily Bayana also continued to figure as the first part of the full name.[98]

The connection of the Bahudhānyakas with the place, however, proved too strong to be obliterated altogether and the real name asserted again. In the process it got restored to some new forms in literature and inscriptions. Bahudhānyaka[99] was thus followed by Bhādānaka,[100] Bhādāna,[101]

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96. *Ibid.*, p. 154 and n. 1.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 154 and n. 2.

98. *Ibid.*, p. 148, Citing Eliot and Dowson, Vol. ii, pp. 304 and 308.

99. *Mbh.*, Sabhā, 29, 4-6 (1) :

ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाश्वधनधान्यवत् ।
कार्तिकेयस्य दयितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥
तत्र युद्धं महद्वृत्तं शूरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः ।
मरुभूमिं च कात्स्न्र्येन तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥
शैरीषकं महेच्छं च वशे चक्रे महाद्युतिः ।

100. *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Ed. C. D. Dalal and R. A. Sastri, Baroda 1934, 10.2. (p. 51) :

गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः ।
सापभ्रंशप्रयोगाः सकलमरुभुवः टक्कभादानकाश्च ॥

101. *Bijolia Inscr. Of Cāhamana Someśvara*, v. s. 1226, Ed. A. K. Vyas, *E. I.*, Vol. xxvi (1941-42), pp. 84-112, V.19 :

भादानत्वं चक्रे भादानपतिः परस्य भादानः ।
यस्य दधत्करवालः करालतां करतलाकलितः ॥

Bhayāṇa,[102] Bhayānaya,[103] and Bhayāṇaka.[104] The last two are evidently the Sanskritised forms of Bayānā.

This small list of geographical names is by no means exhaustive. It is indeed only illustrative and many more similar instances could be added. Evidently restoration of geographical names in medieval age has normally taken place by way of re-Sanskritisation and once in a while the substitute sounds atleast linguistically as appealing to the ear as the original albeit entirely bereft of the historical significance. Sāmbhramatī in place of Aśmanvatī and Somb and Sapādalakṣa for Śālvaka and Shiwalik would fall in this category. Occasionally the restorer of a name contrived to lend it credence by weaving it into some old twisted tradition to connect it with a celebrated personality as the story of the birth of Sāmbhramatī from the agitation of the venerable sage Vasiṣṭha[105] strives to do. These are, however, only exceptions rather than the rule. More often the restored names, although apparently more refined, contain precious little of sense or significance as instances like Gejjara, Śatarudra, Hariāla, Sayambhara and Bhayāṇaka would show.

Whereas normal restoration, refinement or amendation—whatever one might call it—of a geographical name, how-

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102. *A Descriptive Catalogue Of Mss. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, (G. O. S., No. 76), Baroda 1937, p. 156, V.22 :

सावत्थिदुग्गमाइसु वाणारसीपमुह पुव्वदेसम्मि ।
कम्मगसिरो हमाइसु भयाणदेसम्मि वन्दामि ॥

103. Dasharath Sharma, *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, Bikaner 1966, Vol. 1, p. 24.

104. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Kumārikā Khaṇḍa, 39.159 (i) :

लक्षैकं च तथा प्रोक्तं ग्रामाणां तु भयाणकम् ।

105. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 173.9-14.

soever deformed transformed or changed it might be, is bound to increase the chaos and reduce the possibility of its easy identification in future a renaming would almost certainly eliminate any such possibility by completely destroying the old name along with its linguistic and historical roots. After two hundred years from now the name Sahebzada Ajit Singh Nagar or S. A. S. Nagar might well be changed into something like Sasnār or Hasnāḍ and Carterpuri to something like Kartauḍī making it next to impossible for anybody to be reminded of Mohali and Daulatpur-Nasirabad.

But then this process is inevitable and the historian will have to live with it.

ELEMENTS OF FARCE IN THE PLAYS OF HARṢA

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A *Prahasana* (pra+√*has*+lyuṭ) is that which causes one to burst into laughter. The elements of Farce in the three plays of Harṣa are very much proportionate and appropriate tending to help the main sentiment of the play. The author in this paper, after illustrating the *Prahasanāṅgas* and *Vīthyaṅgas* as dealt with by other dramaturgists, has tried to present similar specimens from Harṣa's *Nāgānanda, Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*.

After Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, it is Harṣa who handles the sentiment of *hāsya* in an effective way in his plays. The humour of Harṣa is always dignified and straight. He never indulges in the so called slapstick comedy. His *hāsya* never looks out of place but always has a purpose to serve in the dramatic sequence of the play. Providing comic relief to the audience in the midst of gripping scenes is not the only purpose of the humorous scenes. The *hāsya* in Harṣa's plays, always serves as a suppliment to the 'pradhāna rasa' and helps to heighten it, thereby contributing to the overall dramatic effect of the play. Looking from this angle the farcical elements do have a leading role to play in the three plays of Harṣa.

The *Prahasanāṅgas* or the elements of Farce form an indispensable part of a *Prahasana* (Farce). They are, however, widely employed in *Nāṭakas* and *Prakaraṇas* too. It may be necessary here to point out the difference between "General hāsya" and the "Prahasana element". A passage is said to contain *Prahasana* element only if it is '*hāsyaprāya*'. But the contrary is not true. Not all passages which are *hāsya*-oriented contain a *Prahasana* element. A *Prahasana* element is that which while being *hāsya*-oriented, is dramatic in nature and is full of actions and gesticulations. Hāsya, plain and simple may evoke '*smita*'—gentle smile—or '*hasita*' —smile, but a *Prahasana* element is boisterously farcical, evoking '*apahasita*'—excessive laughter—or '*atihasita*'—reeling laughter. The *Prahasana* elements may be based on pun and other types of word play or may arise from vain quarrel, improper speech, impertinence, roundabout talk, incoherent talk, humourous interpretation of the religious codes etc., misquoting of scriptural passages or well established sayings out of context, over exaggeration, vain boastings, deceptive words and actions, feigned 'paścāttāpa' etc.

Siṃhabhūpāla was probably the first author of dramaturgy to deal with the *Prahasana* elements at length. He has named ten of them and has offered illustrations from a *Prahasana* called *Ānandakoṣa* which is unfortunately lost to us. But Siṃhabhūpāla's list does not seem to be complete. He has probably included only those for which he could offer illustrations from *Ānandakoṣa*. Some of the *Prahasana* elements mentioned by him overlap with some of the *Vīthyaṅgas*, either in their name or by their content. He has failed to include some of the other *Vīthyaṅgas*, which are fit to be called *Prahasanāṅgas* as well. Thus the *Prahasanāṅga* '*Anṛtam*' mentioned by Siṃhabhūpāla is the same as the

Vīthyaṅga 'prapañca' which is based on "false praise" or "flattery". Likewise *'gadgadavāk'* is similar to *'asatpralāpa'* (*Vīthyaṅga*) since both arise due to incoherent talk. The term *'vyāhāra'* occurs in both the groups though their definitions differ from one another. Hence, the *Prahasana* elements may not be restricted to just ten which are mentioned by Siṃhabhūpāla, but may include the majority of the *Vīthyaṅgas* which are also farcical in nature. The term *Prahasanāṅgas* mentioned by Siṃhabhūpāla in *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*[1] are :

(i) avalagita	—	Slip down
(ii) avaskanda	—	Scooping
(iii) vyāhāra	—	Jocular dialogue
(iv) vipralambha	—	Deception
(v) upapatti	—	Reasoning
(vi) bhayam	—	consternation
(vii) anṛtam	—	Falsehood
(viii) vibhrāntiḥ	—	Misconception
(iv) gadgadavāk	—	Choking
(x) pralāpa	—	Prattling

The thirteen *Vīthyaṅgas,* first mentioned by Bharata[2] and later adopted by other dramaturgists are—

(i) udghātyaka	—	Abrupt dialogue

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1. *Rasārṇavasudhākara* (*RS*), III.274–276 ; Adyar Library Series edition ; 1979, Madras.

2. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NS*), Ch. XVIII.168 ; Nirnayasagar edition 1912, Bombay.

(ii) avalagita	—	continuance
(iii) prapañca	—	complement
(iv) trigata	—	triple rendering
(v) chalam	—	Deception
(vi) vākkeli	—	Repartee
(vii) adhibala	—	Outvying
(viii) gaṇḍam	—	Abrupt remark
(ix) avasyandita	—	Humourous interpretation
(x) nālikā	—	Enigma
(xi) asatpralāpa	—	Incoherent talk
(xii) vyāhāra	—	Humourous talk
(xiii) mṛdava	—	Euphemism

It may be difficult to give below the illustrations for all of the *Prahasanāṅgas* as dealt with in *Rasārṇavasudhākara* and for the *Vīthyaṅgas* as given in works like *Avaloka* But still as a sample case, one or two illustrations from the works quoted above may be seen here, before we take up similar specimens from the plays of Harṣa.

The *Prahasana* element *Pralāpa* (Prattling) is defined thus by Siṃhabhūpāla—

प्रलापः स्यादयोग्यस्य योग्यत्वेनानुमोदनम् ।[3]

Pralāpa amounts to endorsing another's inappropriate words or action. The following illustration from *Ānandakoṣa* is cited by Siṃhabhūpāla.

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3. *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, III.283, ed.

राजा—(सौदार्योद्रेकम्)—अये बिडालाक्ष, अस्मदीये नगरे विषये च—

पतिहीना च या नारी जायाहीनश्च यः पुमान् ।
तौ दम्पती यथाकामं भवेतामिति घोष्यताम् ॥

बिडालाक्षः—देवः प्रमाणम् ।

गुह्यग्राही—(सश्लाघागौरवम्)

नष्टाश्वभग्नशकटन्यायेन प्रतिपादितम् ।
उचिता ते महाराज ! सेयं कारुण्यघोषणा ॥

अपि च

मन्वादयो महीपालाः शतशो गामपालयन् ।
न केनापि कृतो मार्गं एवमाश्चर्यसौख्यदः ॥

The *Vīthyaṅga Vākkeli* is defined thus by Viśvanātha.[4]

वाक्केलिर्हास्यसम्बन्धो द्वित्रिप्रत्युक्तितो भवेत् ।

Illustration :

भिक्षो मांसनिषेवणं प्रकुरुषे ? किं तेन मद्यं बिना ?
मद्यं चापि तव प्रियं ? प्रियमहो वाराङ्गनाभिः सह ।
वेश्याप्यर्थरुचिः, कुतस्तव धनं ? द्यूतेन चौर्येण वा
चौर्यद्यूतपरिग्रहोऽपि भवतो ? नष्टस्य काऽन्या गतिः ॥

With this bird's-eye view of the *Prahasanāṅgas* and the *Vīthyaṅgas,* we shall now take up a few illustrations from the three plays of Harṣa.

Nāgānanda :

The first portion of the III Act in *Nāgānanda* is replete with *Prahasana* elements. The comic element thus introduced in the central act brings about a parity between the 'Śṛṅgāra', depicted in the first two acts and the 'Karuṇa'

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4. *Sāhityadarpaṇa (SD)*, Ch. VI.269, Nirnayasagar edition, 1936.

delineated in the last two acts and thereby helps to heighten the effect of these two 'Rasas'. This particular scene if taken out from the main play and enacted separately, may itself serve as a model *Prahasana*. It has two important *Prahasana* characters in the Viṭa and the Vidūṣaka, who are merry-making during the marriage celebrations of Jīmūtavāhana and Malayavatī. The opening verse of this Act is cited by *Avaloka* as an instance of the *Vīthyaṅga-Prapañca*. 'Prapañca' is based on false praise and is defined thus :

असद्भूतं मिथः स्तोत्रं प्रपञ्चो हास्यकृन्मनः ।[5]

The undue praise placed by the Viṭa on Baladeva's drinking habits in the following verse, is thus an illustration of *Prapañca*.

नित्यं यः पिबति सुरां जनस्य प्रियसङ्गमं च यः करोति ।
मम तौ द्वावेव देवौ बलदेवः कामदेवश्च ॥[6]

The next verse in the same act,

वक्षःस्थले दयिता दत्तोत्पलवासिता मुखे मदिरा ।
शीर्षे च शेखरं नित्यमेव संस्थितानि यस्य ॥[7]

is an instance of the *Vīthyaṅga* 'Chalam' which is defined thus

प्रोक्तं छलं ससोत्प्रासैः प्रियाभासैर्विलोभनम् ।[8]

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5. *Daśarūpaka (DR)*, Ch. III.15cd, Nirnayasagar edition, Bombay, 1941.

6. *Nāgānanda,* III.1.

7. *Ibid.,* III.2.

8. *Daśarūpaka,* III.17ab.

'Chalam' is based on flattery or boasting without merit which we find in the verse quoted above. Another instance of the same element can be found in the boasting of the Vidūṣaka about his personality to the Ceṭī when they see the hero describing the charm of his newly married wife.[9]

चेटी—श्रुतं त्वया कथं वर्णिता इति ।

विदूषकः—चतुरिके, मैवं गर्वमुद्वह । अस्माकमपि मध्ये दर्शनीयो जनो
अस्त्येव । केवलं मत्सरेण कोऽपि न वर्णयति ।

The Ceṭī promised to reddress his grievance by saying, आर्य अहं ते वर्णयामि. Blackening his face with the juice of 'tamāla' sprouts, she says 'ननु वर्णितोऽसि'. Then we find the Viṭa mistaking the Vidūṣaka in feminine dress, for Navamālikā. It turns out to be an absolutely ridiculous situation with the drunken Viṭa forcibly dragging the Vidūṣaka and embracing him and all that. Hence, this scene may serve as an illustration for the *Prahasana* element *'vibhrāntiḥ'* which is defined thus वस्तुसाम्यकृतो मोहो विभ्रान्तिरिति गीयते'[10]

A series of humorous exchanges between two or three is called 'vyāhāra', (Also called *Vyavahāra*) another *Prahasana* element.

'व्यवहारः स्वसंवादो द्वित्राणां हास्यकारणम्'[11]

The following scene[12] may illustrate this :

The Viṭa offers a cup of wine, tasted first by Navamālikā, to the Vidūṣaka. The Vidūṣaka hesitates to accept it.

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9. *Nāgānanda*, Act. III, p. 86-89, Ed. C. Sankara Rama Sastry, Madras, 1946.

10. *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, Ch. III.282cd.

11. *Ibid.*, Ch. III.279ab.

12. *Nāgānanda*, Act. III, p. 77-78.

विदूषकः— शेखरक, ब्राह्मणः खल्वहम् ।

विटः—यदि त्वं ब्राह्मणः, क्व ते ब्रह्मसूत्रम् !

विदूषकः—तत् खल्वमुना चेटेन आकृष्यमाणं छिन्नम् ।

चेटी —(विहस्य) यद्येवं, वेदाक्षराण्यपि कतिचित् उदाहर ।

विदूषकः—भवति, सीधुगन्धेन मम वेदाक्षराणि नष्टानि ।

This dialogue may serve as an illustration for व्यवहार.

Ratnāvalī :

Ratnāvalī has always had the reputation of being the model play for dramaturgists. *Avaloka* quotes major portion of the play while illustrating the 'sandhyaṅgas' and other dramaturgical aspects. It is in *Ratnāvalī* that the poet is at his best as a humorist. Thus most of the dramaturgists like Bhoja, Śāradātanaya, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra and of course Dhanika, quote profusely from *Ratnāvalī* while illustrating the several *Vīthyaṅgas*.

In the first Act when the King wonders whether the festival belongs to Kāma or to himself the Vidūṣaka remarks :

'अहं पुनर्जानामि, न भवतो । न च कामदेवस्य, ममैवैकस्य ब्राह्मणस्यायं महोत्सवः'[13]

This passage can be illustrative of the element 'Chalam'.

The following passage[14] is quoted in *Avaloka* as an example of the element 'vākkeli'.

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13. *Ratnāvalī*, Act.1, p. 14, Ed. M. R. Kale, Booksellers Pub. Co., Bombay-4, 1964.

14. *Ratnāvalī*, Act.I., p. 22.

विदूषकः—भवति मदनिके, भवति चूतलतिके, मामप्येतां चर्चरीं शिक्षयताम् ।

उभे—(विहस्य) हताश, न खल्वेषा चर्चरी ।

विदूषकः—तत् किं खल्वेतत् ।

मदनिका—द्विपदीखण्डं खल्वेतत् ।

विदूषकः—(सहर्षम्) किमेतेन खण्डेन मोदकाः क्रियन्ते ?

चेट्यौ—(विहस्य) न हि न हि । पठ्यते खल्विदम् ।

ND defines 'vyāhāra' thus,

'अन्यार्थो भाविदृष्टिर्वा व्याहारो हास्यलेशगीः'[15]

and draws the illustration from Ratnāvalī for the second type, i. e., 'bhāvidṛṣṭiḥ'. The verses quoted is,

उद्दामोत्कलिकां विपाण्डुररुचं प्रारब्धजृम्भां क्षणा-
दायासं श्वसनोद्गमैरविरतैरातन्वतीमात्मनः ।
अद्योद्यानलतामिमां समदनां नारीमिवान्यां ध्रुवं
पश्यन्कोपविपाटलद्युतिमुखं देव्या करिष्याम्यहम् ॥[16]

'अत्र राज्ञा वासवदत्तां प्रति भाव्यर्थदर्शनं हास्येनोक्तमिति ।' says ND

Then when the King and the Vidūṣaka hear the words of Sārikā, the Vidūṣaka is frightened and shouts.

'भो वयस्य, एहि पलायावहे । एतस्मिन् बकुलपादपे किमपि भूतं प्रतिवसति ।'[17]

This is an instance of a *Prahasana* element 'bhayam'.

We have the *Prahasana* element 'vibhrāntiḥ' in the following passage[18]

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15. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa (ND)*, II.31ab, Ed. G. O. S., 1959.

16. *Ratnāvalī*, II.4.

17. *Ibid.*, Act.II., p. 66.

18. *Ibid.*, Act.II, p. 72.

विदूषकः—भोः एषा खलु दास्याः पुत्री चतुर्वेदीव ब्राह्मणः ऋचः पठितुं प्रवृत्ता।
राजा—वयस्य, किमनयोक्तं, किमप्यन्यचेतसा मया नावधारितम्।
विदूषकः—एतत्खल्वेतया मन्त्रितम्—
'दुर्लभजने नु रागो लज्जा गुर्वी च परवश आत्मा।
प्रियसखि विषमं प्रेम मरणं शरणं केवलमेकम्।।'
राजा—महाब्राह्मणः खल्वसि। कोऽन्य एवमृचामभिज्ञः।
विदूषकः—किं खल्वेतत्।
राजा—ननु गायेयम्। कयापि श्लाघ्ययौवनया प्रियजनमनासादयन्त्या जीवितनिरपेक्षयोक्तम्।

BP defines 'avasyandita' as 'उक्तस्य अन्यथा व्याख्या'[19] and draws the illustration from the famous "Citraphalaka" scene[20]

सुसङ्गता—सखि, यस्य कृते त्वमागता सोऽयं पुरतस्तिष्ठति।
सागरिका—(सासूयं) सुसंगते कस्य कृतेऽहमागता ?
सुसङ्गता—(विहस्य) अलमन्यशङ्कितेन, ननु चित्रफलकस्य। तद्गृहाणैतम्।

The same passage is quoted in *SP* as an instance of 'avalagita' which is defined by him thus

'यत्र अन्यस्मिन् समावेश्य कार्यमन्यत् प्रसाध्यते।'[21]

Viśvanātha, however, quotes the same passage as an instance of 'nālikā' which is defined by him thus

'प्रहेलिकैव हास्येन युक्ता भवति नालिका।'[22]

and according to him 'prahelikā' is 'संवरणकार्युत्तरम्'

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19. *Bhāvaprakāśana (BP)*, p. 232, G. O. S. edition, 1930.

20. *Ratnāvalī,* Act. II, p. 84.

21. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (SP)*, Ch. XII, p. 492–496, edited by Josyer, Coronation Press, Mysore, 1963.

22. *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* Ch. VI.261b.

In the same Act (II) of *Ratnāvalī* we find Susaṅgatā threatening the King that she would inform the queen about "Citraphalaka" episode. But by this feigned threatening she only wants to help her friend. Hence, this is an instance of *Prapañca,* according to *Nāṭyadarpaṇa,* which is defined thus

'प्रपञ्चः सस्तवं हास्यं मिथो मिथ्यैकलाभकृत् ।'[23]

The element 'gaṇḍa' is an abrupt remark which caused a flutter in the hearts of the listeners because of its application in a matter in progress. When the King is trying to pacify the feigned anger of Sāgarikā, Vidūṣaka makes an abrupt remark

'भो एषा खल्वपरा देवी वासवदत्ता ।'[24]

Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā take to their heels immediately fearing that Vāsavadattā has actually arrived. The abrupt remark made by the Vidūṣaka here is an instance of the element Gaṇḍa. Another illustration for the same element can be found in Act III,[25] when the King rejoices over the sudden meeting of Sāgarikā and says 'वयस्य सेयमनभ्रावृष्टिः ।' Vidūṣaka remarks 'एवमेतत् यद्यकालवातावलीव देवी आगत्य अन्यतो नेष्यति ।' and actually it so happens that Vāsavadattā comes there and observes the act of infidelity of her husband.

Then we have an instance of 'chalam' in the same Act. With a glitter of hope still lingering in his mind the King

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23. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa,* Ch. II.32cd.

24. *Ratnāvali,* Act II, p. 94.

25. *Ratnāvalī,* Act III, p. 140.

asks Vidūṣaka whether there is still any chance of his meeting Sāgarikā. The proud Vidūṣaka replies

'भोः कस्मान्न भविष्यति यस्य ते उपहसितबृहस्पतिबुद्धिविभवोऽहममात्यः ।'[26]

Here the Vidūṣaka proclaims that he is superior to Bṛhaspati in intelligence and, hence, we have the element 'chalam'.

Priyadarśikā :

There is not much of novelty in the play *Priyadarśikā*. It is just a repetition of the *Ratnāvalī* theme. There are not any new type of farcical elements either in this play.

We have an instance of 'anṛtam' in Act II[27] of the play

राजा—(विलोक्य) वसन्तक, कस्मात्प्रहृष्ट इव लक्ष्यसे ?

विदूषकः—अर्चति खलु देवी ब्राह्मणम् ।

राजा—यद्येवं ततः किम् ?

विदूषकः—(सगर्वम्) भोः, ईदृशः खलु ब्राह्मणः । यश्चतुर्वेद-पञ्चवेद-षड्वेद-ब्राह्मणसहस्रपर्याकुले प्रथममहमेव देवीसकाशात् स्वस्तिवाचनं लभे ।

राजा—(विहस्य) वेदसंख्ययैवावेदितं ब्राह्मण्यम् । तदागच्छ महाब्राह्मण । धारागृहोद्यानमेव गच्छावः ।

The farcical elements in the plays of Harṣa, presented above are only representative in nature. A discerning reader of the plays is bound to find many more instances of these elements.

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26. *Ratnāvalī*, Act III, p. 114.

27. *Priyadarśikā*, Act II, p. 12, edited by M. R. Kale, Motilal Banarsidas, 1977.

SECTARIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDA*

(With Special Reference to Madhva and his Disciple-commentators)

ANANT SHARAN TIWARI
Deoria

Due to long gap between the times of the *Saṃhitās* and the schools of Vedic interpretation, no particular method can claim to represent the true meaning of the Vedas. In order to understand the importance of the Sectarian interpretation of the Veda, one must be unprejudiced and balanced in applying historico–Scientific method.

The works confined to a particular sect are often made out to be unworthy of scholarly consideration. Any attempt to discern their inherent meaning appears to be, in the beginning, an exercise in futility. 'Sectarianism develops when religious insights are associated exclusively with one particular doctrinal or theological phrase, such as justification by faith, or with one particular theological view regard-

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*This paper was read in the All-India Seminar on "Aspects of Vedic Interpretations" held under the auspices of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona on 29.1.1980.

ing religious practices.'[1] This 'exclusive association' with 'one particular doctrinal or theological phrase' makes the sect more coherent and dogmatic so much so that to a superficial onlooker it appears too much obscure and unintelligible. It is precisely against this backdrop that an effort is made in this paper to deal with the sectarian aspect of Vedic interpretation with special reference to the ideas of Śrī Madhvācārya (1238—1317 A.D.) and his disciples on this important branch of Vedic lore.

In order to know the origin and genesis of the sectarian aspect of Vedic interpretation, we have to go back to the remote past of our history, possibly to the very inception of the Vedic Saṃhitās. It is in human nature to understand and interpret any written or spoken statement in its own way. As a result of different approaches and pre-conceived notions, different interpretations on one and the same statement are bound to follow. This becomes more pertinent in the context of the Veda which is the oldest written document of the world. Looking at the vast gap of time between the origin of the Vedic Saṃhitās and the beginning of a systematic attempt[2] of Vedic interpretation makes it clear that no particular aspect, be it ritualistic, spiritualistic, mythological or historical may claim to be the exclusive representative of Vedic thought. Yet it cannot be said that what came in vogue after such a big gap of time was rootless and had no ideological base whatsoever. The

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1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macropaedia, Chicago, 1975, Vol. 15, p. 595.

2. By the beginning of systematic attempt in the context of Vedic interpretation we can understand it for Skandasvāmin (600 A.D.) who is supposed to be one of the oldest of Vedic interpreters.

Nirukta of Yāska makes it clear beyond doubt that as far back as 700 B.C. different schools of Vedic interpretation were flourishing and Yāska by way of illustration, cites *ṚV* 4.58.3 which invited different interpreters to offer varying meanings of one and the same word.[3] *Nirukta* itself represented the etymological aspect of Vedic interpretation. It has to be borne in mind here that the *Nirukta* and different schools of Vedic interpretation. mentioned therein. are of intentional and systematic nature as they proceed to interpret the Veda with a particular viewpoint. On the other hand are the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Purānas which are of spontaneous and independent nature. They take their cue from the Veda and develop their own rituals. spiritual speculations and mythologies. The Brāhmanas enjoin the Vedic *rcs* in some particular rituals and while doing so they narrate various legends. interpret the Vedic *rcs* and offer various etymologies of the Vedic words. But at the same time the Brāhmanas have hidden the pristine and original beauty of the Veda. Their new symbolism has covered the original symbolism of the Veda.[4] The *Yajña* seems to be the dominant theme of their speculation which though might have some mystical and transcendental connotation at the initial stages, gradually became more and more mundane and non-spiritual. The Upaniṣads endeavoured to present the inner and symbolical meaning of the Veda that was the nucleus of the *ādhyātmika* school of Vedic interpretation mentioned in the

3. Cf. *Nirukta*, 13.9.

4. Cf. Vachaspati Gairola, *Sanskṛta sāhitya kā itihāsa* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1960, p. 284.

Nirukta.[5] The adherents of this school believed that the Vedic *mantras* are inner, symbolico-mystic and monotheistic eulogy of One Supreme Being who is praised through different names. The internal evidence of the Veda itself shows that the names of different deities are but the expressions of the same One[6] and that one who does not know Him, the *ṛc* is of no value for him.[7] The One Supreme Being is the giver/bearer of different names to/of gods.[8] The primary aim of the Upaniṣads too is to see the unity in diversity by presenting the inner and symbolical meaning of the Veda but they could not proceed much farther since their aim and object was establishment of Vedānta and not a word to word interpretation of the Veda.[9]

Gradually, with the advent of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā philosophy,[10] a tendency gained ground that the Veda was meant for rituals. This ideology found its source in the

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5. Cf. *Nirukta*, 13.9.

6. *ṚV* 1.164.46:

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥

7. *ṚV* 1.64.49:

यस्तन्न वेद किमृचा करिष्यति

8. *ṚV* 10.82.30:

यो नः पिता जनिता यो विधाता धामानि वेद भुवनानि विश्वा ।
यो देवानां नामधा एक एव तं संप्रश्नं भुवना यान्त्यन्या ॥

9. Cf. Vachaspati Gairola, *op. cit.*

10. The date of Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*, is however, quite indefinite. According to some these were probably written about 200 B.C. while others assign 200 A.D. for them *Cf. Hiriyanna, Outlines of Indian Philosophy*.

Brāhmaṇa texts.[11] The interpreters like Skandasvāmin, Venkaṭa Mādhava, Mādhava, Uvaṭa, Mahīdhara, Sāyaṇa and Udgītha were mainly guided by this Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā view[12] and came under *Yājñika-Aitihāsika* schools mentioned in the *Nirukta* of *Yāska*. As a result of this, the scope of the Veda was much narrowed down that ultimately relegated it to oblivion. The Ācaryas of the Vedānta like Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, who preceded Madhva, didn't interpret the Veda and confined themselves to the *Prasthānatrayī*, i. e., the Upaniṣads, the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. The sectarian Purāṇas, on the other hand, fulfilled the longings and aspirations of the devout hearts. They emphasised on the devotional aspect of the Veda, condemned the Vedic rituals and also at times tended to interpret the Vedic *ṛcs* in accordance with the glorification of their personal gods.[13] Thus Madhva undertook to interpret the Veda taking spiritual aspect from the Upaniṣads and devotional aspect from

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11. *Cf.* Hiriyanna, *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1960, p. 129.

12. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Prabhākara (700 A.D.) were almost contemporary to Skandasvāmin and other interpreters who followed him. *Cf.* C. K. Raja, *The Ṛgvedānukramaṇī of Mādhavabhaṭṭa*, Madras, 1932, p. 18 and Jadunath Sinha. *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Calcutta, 1956, p. 763.

13. *Cf. Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 2.8.98-99 on *Ṛv*.1.22.20, *Padma Purāṇa*, 6.255.70-730 on *Ṛv*.1.154.6, *Liṅga Purāṇa*, 2.18.7 on *Ṛv*.8.48.3, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 8.16.31 and *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Kāśī*), 73.93-94 on *Ṛv*.4.58.3. Similarly *Ṛv*.10.90 (*Puruṣa Sūkta*) has been interpreted by the *Brahmāṇḍa*. *Bhāgavata*, *Skanda* and *Padma* Purāṇas. For detail *Cf.* Ram Shankar Bhattacharya, *Purāṇagata Vedaviṣayaka Sāmagrī Kā Samīkṣātmaka Adhyayana* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1965.

the *Mahābhārata* (the *Bhagvadgītā*) and the Purāṇas with an aim to establish the Veda on par with the *Prasthānatrayī*.[14] Being a Vaiṣṇava Ācārya and Founder of Dvaita school of Vedānta he had to show the supremacy of his personal god Viṣṇu in the Veda and as a monotheist he had to establish that the same One is eulogised through different names. True to his sectarian zeal, in order to counteract the monism of Śaṅkara whom he considered as an immediate threat to the concept of *Bhakti*, he ventured to give a new orientation to the scriptures. Thus, with a view to prove that the Veda was a repository of devotional ideas, Madhva interpreted the first forty hymns of the first Maṇḍala of the *ṚV* and his disciples, viz., Jayatīrtha, Chatāri Nṛsiṃhācārya and Rāghavendrayati further elaborated his interpretation. As a result of study of their works one finds that Madhva and his disciples have a well-knit and well-laid system of interpretation. Their rationale or *raison d'etre* of interpretation is based on some fundamental tenets of ancient grammatico-philosophy of India.

Madhva's philosophy of interpretation proceeds on the basis of his concepts of *Sarvanāmatā* and *guṇapūrṇatva* of Viṣṇu authenticated by the proclamation of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* 15.15[15] and the *Harivaṃśa* 2.59.[16] His

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14. *Cf.* B. N. K. Sharma, *A History of Dvaita School of Vedānta and its literature,* Bombay, 1960, Vol. I, p. 240.

15. सर्वस्य चाहं हृदि सन्निविष्टो
मत्तः स्मृतिर्ज्ञानमपोहनं च ।
वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो
वेदान्तकृद्वेदविदेव चाहम् ॥

16. वेदे रामायणे चैव पुराणे भारते तथा ।
आदावन्ते च मध्ये च हरिः सर्वत्र गीयते ॥

concepts of *Sarvanāmatā* and *guṇapūrṇatva* hold that Lord is the bearer and giver of all names (*nāmadhā*), that He is full of all auspicious attributes. The knowledge of His attributes which is instrumental for liberation, is possible only after the true understanding of scriptures.[17] Madhva takes the first *adhyāya*, i. e., the *samanvayādhyāya* of the *Brahmasūtras* for proving that how the words having different connotations in the worldly usage, can be properly construed in the sense of Supreme Lord. The four *pādas* of this *adhyāya* represent, according to Madhva four aspects of *samanvaya* in the sense of Supreme Lord brought through *mahāyogavṛtti*.[18] To the possible objection as to how the requirements of our life are to be fulfilled if all the words found in scripture are to be appropriated to the Supreme Lord Madhva on the basis of the *Brahmasūtra* 1.4.16 : *Samākarṣāt* anwers that though strictly speaking all the words are applicable only to the Supreme Lord in their primary sense, they are, nevertheless *Samākṛṣṭa* 'drawn upon' i. e. borrowed, with due acknowledgement to the Lord and utilized for all practical purposes in the world.[19] The following *sūtras* according to Madhva establish that thanks to our attachment to the mundane objects, we identify the words

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17. *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya*, Madras, 1969, p. 451 : युक्तं च विष्णोः सर्वोत्तमत्व एव महातात्पर्यं सर्वागमानाम् । मोक्षो हि पुरुषार्थोत्तमः । मोक्षश्च विष्णु-प्रसादेन विना न लभ्यते ।

18. For details one may refer to B. N. K. Sharma, *Brahmasūtras and their principal commentaries*, Bombay, 1971, Vols. I & II.

19. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, 1.4.16 : परमात्मवाचिनः शब्दा अन्यत्र समाकृष्य व्यवहृयन्ते । "परस्य वाचका शब्दाः समाकृष्येतरेष्वपि व्यवहृयन्ते हि सततं लोक वेदानुसारतः ।" इति पाद्मे ।

which are primarily denotative of Supreme Lord, with them.[20] The Supreme Lord is *'Śabdapravṛttihetu'* basis of the currency of word, and this is proved by Madhva while dealing with the meaning of the word 'Indra' where he says that primarily 'Indra' (√*id* 'preponderance') does not exist in Indra (the demi-god) as he has no *parama aiśvarya* which ultimately exists only in Viṣṇu.[21] Thus while interpreting the *Taittirīya-Upaniṣad* 1.1.2 *maha iti brahma brahmaṇā vāva sarve vedāmahīyante,* Madhva states that since Brahman (Viṣṇu) is present all throughout the Vedas on account of His nature of being surpassingly great, and therefore, through His relationship with the Veda, the Vedas also in their entirety are known as Brahman.[22] What else, then there can be, the ultimate purport of the Veda except departing the knowledge of Brahman?

Accordingly, while writing his preface to the commentary of the *Ṛgveda* (1.1-40), Madhva states at the outset

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20. *Ibid.*, 1.4.17 : तर्हि कथं तेषां शब्दानां जगति प्रसिद्धिः । जगद्वाचित्वात् । जगति हि व्यवहारो लोकस्य । न तु परमात्मनि तथा । अतो जगति प्रसिद्धिः शब्दानाम् ।

21. *Aitareya Āraṇyakabhāṣya* 2.2.2 : इन्द्रे हीन्द्र शब्दो न मुख्यतो वर्तते । परमैश्वर्यभावात् । इन्द्रशब्दोऽपि विष्णावेव वर्तते । स हि परमेश्वरः ।

Also cf. Jayatīrtha, *Nyāyasudhā,* q. in *Les noms Vediques de Viṣṇu* (Tr.) *Suzzanne Siauve,* Pondichery, 1959, p. 86 : इन्द्रादिशब्द-प्रवृत्तिहेतूनां परमैश्वर्यादीनां तस्मिन्परमेश्वरे मुख्यसम्बन्धादिन्द्रादिशब्दानां तद्वाचकत्वमेव । तस्यैव हि परमैश्वर्यमनवधिकं स्वातन्त्र्यं च ।

Also cf. Madhva on *Ṛv.*1.31.11 : नामार्थभाग्वासुदेवो हि शक्त्या तेन ह्यायुः प्रथमोऽसाविहोक्तः ।

22. *Aitareya Upaniṣadbhāṣya* 1.10.12 :

बृहत्त्वाद् ब्रह्म वेदानां समुदायेऽखिले स्थितः ।
तत्सम्बन्धाद्वेदराशिर्ब्रह्मशब्देन कीर्तितः ॥

that he intends to offer etymologies of the names of the deities such as Agni etc. in such a way that they would denote the sense of Lord Janārdana (Viṣṇu).[23] He further asserts, on the basis of the *Skanda-Purāṇa,* that the Vedic *Mahā-ṛcs* are endowed with three-fold sense, *Bhārata* (i. e., *Mahābhārata*) with ten-fold sense and the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* with a hundred-fold sense.[24] Thus is further elaborated by Jayatīrtha and Rāghavendrayati that the Vedic *ṛc* at first stage denotes the sense of elemental aspect alongwith its presiding deity, secondly it conveys the sense of Viṣṇu—the Supreme Being and thirdly it expresses the *ādhyātmika* sense.[25] Thus we see that Madhva and his commentators accept three distinct stages while apprehending the meaning of a *ṛc*. In the first or apparent sense the meaning is the same as accepted in the worldly usage. The second and the third stages are of prime-importance in view of Madhva's known stand on the Veda as being a source of Brahmajñāna. The second stage, unequivocally, conveys the sense of Viṣṇu on account

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23. *Ṛgbhāṣyam* in *Sarvamūla,* Belgaum edn.:

यथैवाग्न्यादयः शब्दा प्रवर्तन्ते जनार्दने ।
तथा निरुक्तिं वक्ष्यामो ज्ञानिनां ज्ञानसिद्धये ।।

24. *Ibid.*:

त्रयोऽर्थाः सर्ववेदेषु दशार्थाः सर्वभारते ।
विष्णोः सहस्रनामापि निरन्तर शतार्थकम् ।।

25. Jayatīrtha; *Ṛgbhāṣyaṭīkā,* Kumbakonam edn., 1883 Śaka, p. 3: ऋगर्थश्च त्रिविधो भवति । एकस्तावत्प्रसिद्धाग्न्यादिरूपः अपरस्तदन्तर्गतेश्वरलक्षणः अन्त्यो अध्यात्मरूपः तत्त्रितयपरं चेदं भाष्यम् ।

Also cf. Rāghavendrayati, *Mantrārthamañjarī,* Kumbakonam edn.: ऋक्शाखागतैकोत्तरसहस्रसूक्तमध्ये कानिचिच्चत्वारिंशत्सूक्तानि भगवत्पादैरग्न्यादिदैवतापरत्वेन तदन्तर्गतविष्णुपरत्वेनाध्यात्मपरत्वेन चेत्येवं त्र्यर्थपरतया व्याख्यातानि ।

of His being the *śabdapravṛttihetu* as we have seen in the fore-going. It is the third and the final stage, i. e., *ādhyāt-mika* stage that conveys a deeper meaning of relation of Jīva with the Brahman and the Jagat. It tends to interpret for example, the battle of Indra with Vṛtra, his arch-rival in historical sense, in such a way that it would go to show the elimination of darkness or ignorance (i. e., Vṛtra from √*vṛ* 'to cover') in the heart of a devotee by Indra, i. e., Viṣṇu, the Supreme Lord. It transcends the *ṛc* to the domain of *Bhakti* and touches the dizzy heights of mysticism and esotericism.

Madhva and his followers, might have, in all probability, come to grip with the problem as regards the division of the Veda into various *Sūktas* such as Agni and Vāyu, etc. It might be very well asked that if all the Vedas denote only the sense of Viṣṇu then how the division of the Veda into various *sūktas* can be justified. Madhva and Jayatīrtha answer that there are two aspects of Lord Viṣṇu while being praised in a hymn. In the first place, He is praised by His own name as well as by His substratum, i. e., fire etc. and in the second place He is praised exclusively by His own name.[26] Rāghavendrayati, while adducing the same arguments in favour of this view, adds, on the basis of the *Brahmasūtras*

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26. Madhva, *op. cit.*:

पृथग्रूपाणि विष्णोस्तु देवतान्तरगाणि च ।
अग्न्यादिसूक्तवाच्यानि नाम्ना सूक्तमिदा भवेत् ॥

Jayatīrtha, *op. cit.*: ननु यदि सर्वोऽपि वेदो भगवत्परः कथं तर्हीदमग्नि-सूक्तमिदं वायुसूक्तमिति सूक्तभेद इत्यत आह । पृथगिति । द्विविधानि भगवद्रूपाणि अग्न्यादिसूक्तवाच्यानि । अग्न्यादिदेवतान्तरगाणि पृथक्तदनन्तर्गतानि च । सर्वाणि चाग्न्यादिनामवन्ति । तत्राद्यानां स्वनाम्नाधिष्ठाननाम्ना चाग्न्यादिसूक्तभेदो इतरेषां तु स्वनाम्नैव ।

1.1.24 and 25, that for the purpose of Supreme Lord being remembered, expressed and achieved as a goal, there is a division of the Veda into various hymns such as Agni and Vāyu etc. Further, on account of His being endowed with the qualities of *agryatva* 'foremostness' etc. (Cf. the derivation of the name Agni from *agra*+√*ni*) which are the results of His *śabdapravṛttihetutva,* there is division of the Veda into various hymns, for the express purpose of His adoration and worship that is more emphatically conveyed by the use of *īḍe* in *ṚV* 1.1.1.[27] Similarly, while repudiating the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā view (as epitomised in the *Jaiminisūtra* 1.2.31) against the acceptance of Viṣṇu as the ultimate purport of the Veda, he assiduously makes use of various *Śrutis* and *smṛtis* in order to show the identity of *auṃkāra* with the Brahman and ultimately proves the *Vyākhyāna-Vyākhyeya* relation between the Veda and Viṣṇu represented by the monosyllable *auṃkāra*.

Madhva and his disciples have also dealt at length with the *rūḍhi* and *yoga* concept of interpretation as envisaged

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27. Rāghavendrayati, *op. cit.*: अग्न्यादिसूक्तैर्भगवदुपासकानामग्न्यादि प्रविष्ठानेष्वेव भगवतोऽनुस्मर्तव्याभिव्यज्यमानत्वप्राप्यत्वरूपनिमित्तत्रयेणेदमग्निसूक्तमिदं वायुसूक्तमित्यादिव्यवस्थाया वैश्वानर नयान्ते (१.२.२४) सूत्रकारेणैव समर्थनाच्च ।....यद्यप्यग्न्यादिसूक्तानां विष्णवर्थकत्वेऽभिमते सति 'नारायणो वा इदमग्र आसीत्'—इत्यादाविव विष्णुमीळे पुरोहितम् (ऋ० म० १.१.१) विष्णवायाहि दर्शत (ऋ०म० १.२.१) इत्यादिरूपेण प्रसिद्धविष्णवादिशब्दप्रयोगः स्यादिति चोद्यम्, तदप्यग्न्यादिदेवतापरत्वस्यापि सत्त्वादग्र्यत्वादिशब्दप्रवृत्तिनिमित्ताग्र्यत्वादिगुणविशिष्टत्वेनोपासनार्थमग्न्यादिशब्दप्रयोग इतिच्छन्दोनये (१.१.२५) सूत्रकृतैव तथा चेतोर्पणनिगदात् (१.१.२५) इति समाधानाद्वा निरस्तं ध्येयम् । न चात्रोपासनाया अश्रवणं शङ्क्यम् । 'ईळे' इत्युक्तस्तुतेर्गुणानुसन्धानपूर्वकत्वात् ।

28. *Cf. ibid.*

in the grammatico-philosophy of ancient India.[29] This has come as handy for them for delineating the Supremacy of Viṣṇu in the Veda. He opines in the *Karma Nirṇaya* that the meaning of the Veda cannot be understood without the help of *rūḍhi* and *yoga*. But in the realm of the Veda the *yoga* is of prime importance for determining its meaning.[30] But while emphasizing so much the importance of *yogārtha*, Madhva becomes aware that any arbitrary meaning may be applied to any particular word. Therefore, he makes it clear that in order to avoid *anavasthā*, any *rūḍha* sense is applied to the *yoga*.[31] Madhva is in favour of taking *rūḍhi* at first hand for interpreting the Veda in the sense of its established usage. But in order to understand Viṣṇu (who is devoid of all taints and imperfections and possessed of all auspicious attributes) as the purport of the Veda, *yoga* should be applied as the means of knowing Him.[32] Rāghavendra refers to two schools of thoughts in this connection. One of them holds that the words such as Agni, etc. are denotatives of the fire as well as the Supreme Being, the two being blended like milk and water while others hold that they denote only one meaning of either the Supreme Being or the elemental fire like an iron ball possesed by fire.

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29. *Cf. Pramāṇa Candrikā* of Śeṣācārya, ed. and tr. by S. K. Maitra (English), *Mādhva Logic*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 160.

30. रुढियोगौ विना कश्चिन्नैवार्थो वेदगो भवेत् ।
तत्रापि यौगिको मुख्यः सर्वत्रास्ति स वैदिके ॥

31. *Ibid.* : अनवस्थानिवृत्त्यर्थं यौगिके रूढकल्पना ।

32. *Ṛgbhāṣyam* :

रूढिमेव समाश्रित्य विभज्यार्थान्यथाक्रमम् ।
विदोषगुणपूर्त्यर्थं विष्णौ योगार्थमानयेत् ॥

The previous school of thought takes recourse to the *jahal lakṣaṇā* and *rūḍhi-yoga* methods of interpretation for justifying its stand. Those of the second school who favour interpreting the words in their elemental aspect are refuted by Rāghavendra with the help of the *Brahmasūtra* 1.4.3: *tadadhīnatvādarthavat* on the ground that everything being under His subjugation, tends to show that He is the ultimate purport of the names of all objects.[33] He further deals with the *yogārtha* method of, interpretation in all its minute details drawing support from the *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis*.[34]

For refuting the *Pūrva*-Mīmāṃsā's view that ritual is the ultimate purport of the Veda, Madhva has written an independent treatise *Karma-Nirṇaya* and interpreted the *Mahānāmnī ṛcs* therein in devotional sense.[35] Without negating the value of rituals, he only intends to bring out that while performing them, one should think of Him as their ultimate goal.[36] Rāghavendra, on the basis of various *Śrutis* and *Smṛtis*, e. g., *Śāṇḍilya* and *Śrīmadbhāgavatam*, etc., asserts that *vidhi* 'injunction' too is ultimately in the praise of

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33. *Op. cit.*: एवं हि तत्त्वविदां मतम्—द्विविधा ह्यग्न्यादिशब्दाः । नीरसंवलितक्षीरवत् अयः पिण्डसमारूढवह्निवच्च । अग्न्यादितत्तज्जीवचिता संवलितं यद्भगवच्चिद्रूपं सपिण्डं तद्वाचिनः केचित् । केवल शुद्धवाचिनः केचिदिति ।....

34. *Cf. ibid.*

35. Also *cf.* Madhva's interpretation on *Ṛv.* 1.13.8; 16.2; 22.6 and 31.5.

36. *Cf.* Anant Sharan Tiwari, "Madhva on *Parā* and *Aparā Vidyās*", *Vishveshvarānanda Indological Journal*, Vol. XVII, Hoshiarpur, 1979, pp. 96–101.

Lord. All the sacrifices are meant for His glorification.[37] Thus we see that Madhva and his disciples, by accepting the tripartite meaning of the Vedic *ṛcs* do not wish to undermine the value of apparent sense of the Veda. That Madhva has given equal treatment to the apparent historical sense, becomes clear from his interpretation of *ṚV* 1.10.11 and 11.5. His observations on the *Śatarcitva* of the seers of the first Maṇḍala of *ṚV* and his views on the classification of the Veda into various *Śākhās* deserve historico-scientific analysis. But while not undermining the value of apparent sense, Madhva has always given it a subordinate position with a view to make the Veda a means of Brahmajñāna and liberation.[38] Of course, as mentioned earlier, in true keeping with sectarian zeal, Madhva has ventured to give a new orientation to the scriptures for propogating his own doctrines. He has taken note of those places in *ṚV* which according to him emphasise on the need of new orientation to the scriptures. Special mention may be made, in this connection to *ṚV* 1.11.5 which is interpreted by Madhva in terms of referring to a 'correct' and genuine interpretation of scriptures. This is more clearly elaborated by Chalāri Nṛsiṃhācārya who says that, at many places where the Advaitins propound their doctrine of *abheda* on the strength of the *Śrutis*, viz., *tat tvam*

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37. *Op. cit.*: 'सृजतो हि श्रुतयोऽनुवर्तन्ते नैवासृजतः कं वा विदधते कं वा निषेधन्ति स्तुतिमात्रा एव ते स्युः' इति श्रुतिगीतातात्पर्योक्त (शाण्डिल्य) श्रुतो विध्यादिभागस्यापि भगवतः स्तुतित्वोक्तेश्च ।....विधिभागदेवताभागादिरपि मामेव बोधयतीत्यर्थस्य दुर्ज्ञानत्वोक्तेश्च ।....वासुदेवपरावेदा वासुदेवपरामखाः इति प्रथम-स्कन्धद्वितीयाध्याये ।

38. *Bhagvadgītābhāṣya* in *Sarvamūla*, Bangalore, 1971, p. 80:

सर्वे वेदास्तु देवार्था देवा नारायणार्थकाः ।
नारायणस्तु मोक्षार्थो मोक्षो मान्यर्थ इष्यते ॥

asi, etc., there is a genuine need of reinterpreting such statement from proper standpoint. Only then shall one realize the true purport of those statements.[39] But there are places as well where sectarian poignancy of Madhva has become apparent. Mention may be made in this connection of *ṚV* 1.29.5 where the word *gardabha* has come as handy for him for heaping abuses on the Advaitins who preach *māyāvāda* and attributeless Brahman.[40] His gradation of Vedic gods with a view to show the Supremacy of Viṣṇu and the inferiority of Rudra[41] also smacks of sectarianism. Similar is the case with his treatment to Vedic god Vāyu who is identified by him with Hanumat and Bhīma and thus given a significant place in hirarchy of gods while Indra is given a relatively inferior position thanks to famous *govardhana* episode resulting in victory of Kṛṣṇa-cult over Indra cult.[42] But these places can be understood in terms of contemporary environment of ill-will and hatred prevalent between the rival groups of Dvaitins and Advaitins as well as Vaiṣṇava and Śaivas. Charges and countercharges were the fashion of the day. On the contrary, save for these place, Madhva is out and out a staunch theist who rises to the dizzy

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39. *Cf. Ṛgbhāṣyaṭīkāṭippaṇī*, Kumbakonam edn., p. 79.

40. *Ṛgbhāṣyam* :

पापया मायया मिथ्या स्तुवन्तं त्वामपि प्रभो ।
मायामयास्तव गुणा न सन्ति परमार्थतः ॥
इति नित्यं रुवन्तं च मायावाद्याह्यगर्दभम् ।
सञ्चूर्णय तमस्येव क्षिप्त्वा तप्ताश्मभिः सदा ॥

41. *Cf. ibid.*, Preface.

42. *Cf.* R. N. Dandekar, "Vṛtrahā Indra", *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXXI, Poona, 1951, p. 55.

heights of mysticism in moments of devotional ecstasy and declares that not only the names of the seers and the Vedas but the humming of the ocean, falling of the trẹes and beating of the drums are to be understood as denoting His sense and singing His glory.[43] This leaves, not even an iota of doubt that Madhva's sectarian treatment to the Vedic gods is guided by the *rūḍhārtha* concept of interpretation while the mystic and devotional treatment is based on the *yogārtha* concept as mentioned earlier. And it is *yogārtha* that is of prime importance in Madhva's view.

All this while, we have noticed peculiarities of Madhva's interpretation that was for long confined in his school. It has, however, influenced posterior interpreters, who seem to have taken their cue from his interpretation. It has been reported that Nīlakaṇṭha (176 A.D.) the illustrious commentator of the *Mahābhārata,* in his *Mantra Rāmāyaṇam* and *Mantra Bhāgavatam* has interpreted some *ṚV* verses in a fashion that they would tend to show the sense of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, respectively. He is of the view that the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavatam* can be deciphered from the *ṚV* verses.[44] Similarly, Caturvedasvāmī is also understood to have commented upon some *ṚV* verses with a view to show the exploits of Kṛṣṇa in the Veda.[45] He has

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43. *Aitareya Āraṇyakabhāṣya* 2.2.2: न केवलमृष्यादीनां नाम भगवतः। सर्वे वेदा अपि तस्यैव नाम। किमु च वेदाः? समुद्रघोषवृक्षपतनभेरीताडनादि सर्वे घोषा अपि तस्यैव नाम यथायोग्यं योजनीयानि।

44. *Cf.* Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Sanskṛta Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1973 p. 50.

45. *Cf.* Bhagavaddatta, *Vaidika vāṅmaya kā itihāsa* (Hindi), N. Delhi, 1966, p. 81.

interpreted *ṚV* 10.113.4 in such a way that it conveys the sense of Kṛṣṇa's killing of Pūtanā, lifting of Govardhana hill and His presence in the *Mahābhārata* war as a charioteer ![46] Mention may be made in this connection, also of Nārāyaṇācarya (17C. A.D.) who in his *Madhvamantrārthamañjarī*, aims at interpreting several *ṚV* verses in the sense of Vāyu and Madhva ![47] But these are, what may be called, sectarian expressions in their gross form. On the more subtler level, Ātmānanda (13C. A.D.) has interpreted *ṚV* 1.164 (i. e., *Asyavāmasya* hymn) in the spiritual sense, albeit Advaita oriented.[48] The *bhāṣya* of Rāvaṇa on some verses of *ṚV* also falls in this category.[49]

In modern times, Svāmī Dayānanda Sarasvatī seems to have followed the monotheistic tradition of Vedic interpretation, the lead of which was long ago, given by Madhva.[50] Notwithstanding their differences of opinion as regards the authoritativeness also of the texts other than the Veda, the theory of incarnation and the belief in the Brahman full of attributes and with form which led *Glassenapp* to assert that there is no similarity in the ideas of Madhva and Dayānanda,[51] one finds striking similarity in their ideas of the

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46. *Cf. ibid.*

47. *Cf.* B. N. K. Sharma, *A History of Dvaita School of Vedānta and its literature*, Bombay, 1964, Vol. II, p. 229.

48. *Cf.* C. K. Raja, *Asya Vāmasya Hymn*, Madras, 1956.

49. *Cf. Rāvaṇabhāṣyam*, ed. and tr. by S. K. Gupta, Jaipur, 1967.

50. *Cf.* B. N. K. Sharma, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 248.

51. *Cf.* H. V. Glassenapp, *Madhva's Philosophie Des Viṣṇu Glaubens*, Bonn und Leipzig, p. 44.

importance of *Yogārtha* for ascertaining the meaning of the Veda. Likewise Shri Aurobindo seems to be in agreement with Madhva as far as mysticism and esotericism in the Veda is concerned. He too, like Madhva, interprets the Veda in its inner and symbolico-mystic sense.[52]

It may be said, in fine, that sectarian interpretation of an ancient text such as the Veda, depicts a sort of zenith of devotionalism on the part of interpreter who transcends the limits of time and space and does not care for propriety of his observations which may otherwise appear to be enigmatic and inconsistent expressions. But if one dives deep into the depth of their observations and takes note of the rationale behind such a venture, as in case of Madhva, one finds it not that anomolous as it was made out to be. Nevertheless, it unravels various mystries and makes an interesting study of an important aspect of Vedic interpretation from historical point of view.

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52. For details see Aurobindo, *On the Veda*, Pondichery, 1964; A. B. Purani, *Sri Aurobindo's Vedic Glossary*, Pondichery, 1962 and *Studies in Vedic Interpretation*, Varanasi, 1963.

AN ARCHETYPE OF BHĀSA'S AVIMĀRAKA AND KATHĀSARITSĀGARA

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After a detailed comparative examination of the common features in the stories of Avimāraka found in *Jātaka, Kathāsaritsāgara* and Bhāsa's *Avimāraka,* the author has concluded that all these had a common archetype in some folklore which was lost. The similarity is due to common origin. The versions of *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Avimāraka* show a close similarity but the *Kathāsaritsāgara* version is more simple and compact which seems to have preserved the substantial portion of the original story.

The story of Avimāraka similar to that of Bhāsa's play *Avimāraka*[1] is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* ;[2] in *Kuṇāla Jātaka* and in details in the commentary *Jātakattha-Vaṇṇanā*[3] and alluded in the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāma-*

1. *Avimāraka* (References) from *Bhāsanāṭakacakram* ed. by C. R. Devadhar, 2nd edn.

2. *Kathāsaritsāgara,* Ed. Jagdish Lal Sastri, Delhi, 1970, Taraṅga 112, verses 89-108.

3. The *Jātaka* (together with its commentary), Ed. V. Fausboll, Reprinted London, 1963 (Roman). pp. 412ff.—Details Comm. pp. 428ff.

sūtra.[4] Taking the works of Bhāsa as genuine, he is placed first chronologically. *Kuṇāla Jātaka,* its commentator, the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* and *Kathāsaritsāgara* may be placed one after another in the order of chronology. The versions of the story are intermingled with one another. But there is a striking resemblance between the story of *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Bhāsa's *Avimāraka.* That the story of *Kathāsaritsāgara* is borrowed from that of Bhāsa is not certain because the extent and structure of Bhāsa's drama is complicated and it appears intermingling more than one themes. The story of *Kathāsaritsāgara* is a simple and compact unit. The following comparative expressions exhibit that out of 20 verses of *Kathāsaritsāgara,* 50% is not found in Bhāsa's drama whereas 30% of the text has similarity of expressions sometimes verbatim. 20% of the text has been found in the dramatization of Bhāsa which is found in *Kathāsaritsāgara* in one or the other way. It is also interesting that the story of *Kathāsaritsāgara* has resembling features with that of the story in *Jayamaṅgalā*: sometimes with that of the commentator of *Jātaka* also. This commonness of the story may be due to a common stream in *Kathā* literature. The opinion of Lakshman Sarup[5] that the story of *Avimāraka* is probably the poet's own creation does not hold good as it will be exhibited in this paper that their common origin may be the cause of similarity. Weller's[6] theory of

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4. *Kāmasūtra,* Ed. with the Comm. *Jayamaṅgalā,* Bombay, 1891.

5. Lakshman Sarup, *Hindustan Review,* (Quoted from) Pusalkar : *Bhāsa : A Study,* 2nd Edn.

6. Weller : *Avimāraka, Schauspiel von Bhāsa* : Introduction.

symbol has already been refuted by Barnett.[7] Keith has made a very general remark about the source whereas Venkatasubbiah[8] has compared these stories only without showing details of similarity. Detail examination in comparative expressions in this paper supports the view of Dhruva[9] and Pusalkar[10] although on different grounds and arguments that Bhāsa has borrowed from the folklore of his day, afterwards recorded in *Bṛhatkathā* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Innovations by Bhāsa have been discussed by Pusalkar in details.[11]

The story of *Avimāraka* was prevalent in folklore particularly when the *Cāṇḍāla* element has been introduced in the story which is related to the theme of man in street. This theme is in contrariness to the aristocratic themes of later Sanskrit drama. This folklore may be the original story which was changed according to the needs. Venkatasubbiah, is perhaps, right when he says that the divergences in the *Jātakas* seems to be due to what may be called the habit of caricaturing, which the Buddhist writers indulged in when rewriting Brahmanical stories.[12] The changes in Bhāsa's play have already been observed by Pusalkar.[13] The commentary *Jayamaṅgalā*, in the opinion of Venkatasubbiah

7. Barnett. *BSOS*. III, p. 591.
8. A. Venkatasubbiah, *IA*. 1931, pp. 113-115.
9. Dhruva, *Madhyamavyāyoga*, 2nd edn., p. 5.
10. A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhasa : A Study*, 2nd edn., Delhi, p. 92.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
12. *IA*. 1931, p. 114.
13. A. D. Pusalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

is most free from supernatural elements.[14] It is, perhaps, because it had no definite motive to mould the theme. The *Kathāsaritsāgara,* as it is undoubtedly known, is based on the *Bṛhatkathā* which is lost and was written in a vernacular. The similarity of expressions in *Kathāsaritsāgara*'s version of *Avimāraka* and the Bhāsa's play is not accidental. Having been written in Paiśācī, the *Bṛhatkathā* which served as the source of *Kathāsaritsāgara* must have taken it from a folklore which was a common source for Bhāsa's play which adopted the story from the folklore and added substantial dramatic elements. The *Jātaka* story (represented by the commentator also) not only made adaptation for its motive need but has a number of events common to the drama. The idea in a line in *Kathāsaritsāgara* may be exclusively traced to the Jātaka story and has no relationship to any of the other versions. It shows that the *Jātaka* story and a portion of *Kathāsaritsāgara* had a common source whereas the story of Bhāsa's play and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* have deeper similarity in a portion. A classified comparison will support the above hypothesis.

Common Vocabulary with or without a change in suffixes:

Notwithstanding the transpositions of the words and ideas, it is very striking that the vocabulary is common in both the versions of the story in *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Avimāraka.* It definitely exhibits their common stream :

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक*
कुरङ्गी, ८९	कुरङ्गी पृ० १०९, पं० २३ (Jātaka कुरङ्गवी Variant कुरङ्गदेवी)

14. *IA.* 1931, p. 114.

* As per Devadhar's भासनाटकचक्रम्

अपि ९९	अपि
सा ९९	कान्ता (सा)
हस्तिना ९०	हस्ती पृ० ११२, पं० ९
भरणम् ९०	भरणेन पृ० ११२
अन्त्यजन्मा ९६*	अन्त्यज पृ० ११४, पं० १७
	अन्त्यजत्वम् पृ० ११४, पं० २४

Pronouns changed to nouns and vice-versa.

सा ६०	राजपुत्री पृ० ११०, पं० १
(सा जातूद्याननिर्याता)	(उद्यानं गता राजपुत्री)
प्रवीरो ९२	तेन (पृ० ११३, पं० २ Due to change in voice)
सा ९२	स्वामिदारिका, पृ० ११३, पं० ७

Synonyms :

Moreover, it is very striking that the similar contexts in both the versions exhibit common synonyms. This change may be due to the change from common source to a different version, i. e., the common story changed to Paiśācī in *Bṛhatkathā* and subsequently it changed to Sanskrit in *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
सवहना ९०	यानम् पृ० ११२, पं० १६
(उच्चिक्षिपे सवहना धावित्वोपरि दन्तयोः)	पृ० ११३, पं० ६

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*In the *Jātaka*, the word is *Cāṇḍāla* whereas in the *Jayamaṅgalā*, it is Śabara (Veṅkatasubbiah, *op. cit.*, p. 114). In this context **कथासरित्सागर** and **अविमारक** use the same word together with a similarity in the context.

परिवारे ९१	स्त्रीषु, ११२, १४*
साक्रन्दे ९१	हाहाकारमात्रप्रतीकारासु, पृ० ११२, पं० २४-२५
गजम् ९१	द्विपवरम्(no change in suffix)
महागजम् ९२	व्यालः, पृ० ११३, पं० ३
मिलत्परिजना ९३**	कन्यान्तःपुरं प्रवेशिता (synonymical shade) पृ० ११३, पं० ७

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
स्वमन्दिरम् ९२	कन्यान्तःपुरं (प्रवेशिता), पृ० ११३, पं० ७.
सौन्दर्यसम्पदा ९३ †	रूपसम्पद् पृ० १२५, पं० ४. पृ० १३६, पं० ११-१३
तद्रूप ९५	
देव ! पावक ! ९९ ‡	भगवन् ! अग्ने ! पृ० १५१, पं० १०.

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*It may be due to its archetype where wife was an essential ingredient for the family (cf. Punj. Tabbar which means family as well as wife). The archetype changed in two different synonymical words.

** मिलत्परिजना indicates to a natural theme whereas कन्यान्तःपुरं प्रवेशिता is a synonymous shade which was changed for dramatic purpose where अन्तःपुर is an important scene. The original version must have a word for the house (*mandira* in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 93).

†The word रूपसम्पद् in *Avimāraka* is a mixture of सौन्दर्य सम्पदा and तद्रूप in कथा० . *Jātaka* reads उत्तमरूपधरा

‡The use of the synonymous words in the same order is not an accident but goes back to a common archetype.

आहुति ९९*	इष्टम् (IV.7)
जन्मान्तरे ९९	परत्र (IV.7)

Synonymous roots in the same voice or in a changed voice are also found.

अधावत ९१	समासादितवान् पृ० ११२, पं०२४-२५
(गजं प्रति कोऽप्यधावत)	(समासादितवांस्तं द्विपवरम्)

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
(सा) जगाम ९३	(स्वामिदारिका) प्रवेशिता पृ० ११३, पं० ७ (change of voice)
सन्ध्यायन् ९५	आरब्धश्चिन्तयितुम् पृ० १२२, पं० ५
पर्यतप्यत ९५	अन्यादृश एव संवृत्तः पृ० ११८, पं० १५

Besides the synonymous roots, a few roots have the sameness with a change in prefix or suffix or the change of mood only with same meaning.

विद्रुते ९१	प्रद्रुतेषु पृ० ११२, पं० १३
भूयात् ९९	भवेत् verse IV.7.

Similar context : minor difference in theme :

The story of saving the life of princess from the elephant is found in the *Avimāraka*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the comm. *Jayamaṅgalā*. It is interesting to note that this story is not found in the *Jātaka*. In the *Jātaka*, Kuraṅgavī is

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*Both the words आहुति and इष्टम् although here different in meaning go back to a lost archetype with the root √यज् (original) which took a synonymical form in आहुति (हु=यज्) and in another form took the grammatical transformation of इष्ट (with सम्प्रसारण from यज् which was perhaps the original).

directly attached to *Eḷakamāraka* on her first sight. This portion has also an archetype common to the three versions. But there is an apparent similarity in the vocabulary of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Avimāraka.*

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
उच्चिक्षिपे सवहना धावित्वोपरि दन्तयोः (९०) स तं लूनकरं खड्गप्रहारेण महागजम् (९२)	हस्तिनाभिभूयमानाम् पृ० ११२, पं० २४. पृ० ११३ पं० २, ततस्तेन सललितसरभसकरतलताडनप्ररुष्टः— तथा—पृ० ११४, पं० ९ स मुहूर्तमनादरमत्वरितं सललितं प्रियवयस्येनैव तेन हस्तिना प्रक्रीड्य निर्वर्तनानुवर्तनगतिविशेषैर्विमोह्य
हत्वा तं मोचयामास प्रवीरो राजकन्यकाम् (९२)	ततस्तेन सललितसरभसकरतलताडन-प्ररुष्टः सहसैव स्वामिदारिकां विहाय तमेव हन्तुकामः प्रतिनिवृत्तः स व्यालः ।

In some of the similar contexts, story-germs are common but they have been changed for dramatization in *Avimāraka.* They are as follows :

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
आकृष्टहृदया तस्य वीर्यसौन्दर्य-सम्पदा (९३)	पृ० १२२, पं० २१-२४ पृ० १२३, पं० १-५ सा तदाप्रभृति सुमनावर्णकं नेच्छति, आहारं नाभिलषति, न रमते गोष्ठी-जनेन, दीर्घं निःश्वसिति, असम्बद्धं कथयति, गूढं हसति, विविक्ते रोदिति, रोगमपदिशति, तन्वीभवति, पाण्डुभावं गच्छति ।

स मे वारणतस्त्राता भर्ता	पृ० १३९, पं० ९.
वा मृत्युरेव वा इति सञ्चिन्तयन्ती	कुरङ्गी (आत्मगतम्) अहमात्मनः
च तस्थौ तद् विरहातुरा (९४)	प्रभवामि ।*
तद्रूपहृतचित्तः सन्ध्यायन् तां	पृ० १४३, पं० १५
पर्यतप्यत (९५)	एष खलु भगवान् कामदेव ओघ
	इवोभयपक्षं पीडयति ।
स्नात्वा कृत्वा चितामग्निं	पृ० १५१, पं० ९–१०.
प्रज्वाल्यैव व्यजिज्ञपत् (९८)	अये अदूरे दृश्यते दवाग्निः—
	तस्मिन् प्राणानाहुतिं करिष्यामि ।**
देव पावक विश्वात्मन्	इष्टं चेदेकचितानां यद्यग्निः
त्वयाप्याहुतिदानतः ।	साधयिष्यति ।
जन्मान्तरेऽपि सा भूयात्	परत्रापि च मे कान्ता सा
भार्या राजसुता मम ॥	भवेदेककीर्तनी ॥
	(IV. 7)

Avimāraka expressed his inferiority in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* when he observed that it was a difficult task for an *antyaja* to marry a princess and it has been expressed through a simile which is perhaps the poetic innovation of the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* or its archetype. But the same inferiority (which was a part of the archetype) has been

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*It is an irritative self-pride which is expressed by Kuraṅgī when Māgadhikā narrates the engagement ceremony of Kuraṅgī.

मागधिका—अस्ति काशिराजपुत्रो जयवर्मा नाम । तस्मै दत्ता भर्तृदारिका ।
...तस्य च दूत आगतो महाराजेन पूजितः । प्रतिगृहीतम् च वर्णिकारम् ॥

**Here the form used in व्यजिज्ञपत् has been expressed in the drama actually by vocative words viz., भगवन् ! अग्ने ! (p. 151, l. 10).

dramatised through action in a reporting manner in the *Avimāraka*. The following text will prove it :

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
	पृ० ११३, पं० १३.
कुत्राहमन्त्यजन्मायं कुत्र सा राजकन्यका	कौञ्जायन—स्वामिन् इह विसंवादयत्यात्मानमन्त्यजोऽहमिति—
काकस्य राजहंस्याश्च कीदृशः क्व समागमः (९६)	तथा—पृ० ११४, पं० ८-१० भूतिकः—शृणोतु स्वामी । स मुहूर्तमनादरत्वमत्वरितं सललितं प्रियवयस्येनैव तेन हस्तिना प्रक्रीड्य महाजनप्रशंसामसहमानः समवनतशिरस्कः स्वैरं स्वमेवावासं गतः ।
इत्युक्तवन्तं हुतभुजि आत्मानं क्षेप्तुमुद्यतम् (१००)	पृ० १५१, पं० ९-१०. अये अदूरे दृश्यते दवाग्निः । तस्मिन् प्राणानाहुति करिष्यामि ॥

A few instances of the transposition of events in scattered form are found in the *Avimāraka* which, perhaps, was done for the maintenance of the flow of the drama.

कथासरित्सागर	अविमारक
आकृष्टहृदया तस्य वीर्य- सौन्दर्यसम्पदा (९३)	पृ० १४४, पं० ८ प्राप्तं खलु मया जीवितस्य फल येनेयमीदृशं मोहं गता Also other relevant details for *Moha* : *p*. 122, *l*. 21-24. *p*. 123, *l*. 1-5.

This comparison shows a close similarity between the story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Avimāraka* which is not accidental but is due to a common lost archetype.

Differences:

The birth of *Avimāraka* through the illicit relationship of Agni who molested a Brāhmaṇa's daughter is neither found in the *Avimāraka* nor in the *Jātaka*. But this illicit relationship has been attached in the story of Avimāraka and *Kuraṅgī* who lived together is found both in the *Jātaka* and the *Avimāraka*. It means that the story of "illicit relationship" was present in archetype which took different shapes in both the versions viz. one shape in *Kathāsaritsāgara* and another shape in *Jātaka* and *Avimāraka*.

The story of exposure of Avimāraka in the street in *Kathāsaritsāgara* is found in a different manner in the *Jātaka* Comm. So the germ of abandonment of Avimāraka is found in all the versions which may be present in the archetype. According to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Avimāraka was fostered by *Cāṇḍālas* by the goat-milk (ततः त्वं प्राप्य चाण्डालैरजाक्षीरेण वर्धितः 105.) It is not found in *Avimāraka*. But in the *Jātakas* also the wife of Eḍakapāla brought him up by the goat-milk. The conjecture of Venkatasubbiah (*op. cit.*, p. 114) is quite probably that the original name might have been Avikumāraka which is (<Eḍakakumāra) which might have lost its 'ka' through haplology and later on was associated with the story of the death of demon 'Avi' to justify its title in Bhāsa's *Avimāraka*. So the story of *Kathāsaritsāgara* has preserved the clue of the title *Avimāraka* in Avikumāra which is corroborated by the evidence of *Jātaka*. Thus the archetype of the story must have preserved the abandonment of Avimāraka and fostering him with goat-milk which later on

changed to Avimāraka from Avikumāra. It is possible by metathesis also where 'Ka' was transposed to a different position.

Thus, *Kathāsaritsāgara* preserves the substantial portion of the story lost with the archetype.

IN QUEST OF IMMORTALITY

(A VEDIC OUTLOOK)

BISWANATH MUKHOPADHYAY

Burdwan (W. B.)

To become immortal is the long cherished desire of man. Everyone born is liable to die. One cannot fulfil all his desires in the short span of his life, hence the Vedic seers prayed for a life span of a hundred years, for 'heaven', the eternal land of pleasures, and for immortality. To them, immortality meant attainment of longevity, avoidance of rebirth cycle and attainment of divine bliss.

It is a common fact that death is the inevitable end of life. Desires are endless in man, the fulfilment of which never becomes possible by any one as death draws the curtain to life.

Naturally feeling of discontent and despair for this short and brief span of life awakens in man an insatiable yearning for long-life and ultimately for immortality.

Vedic seers were not unaware about this fate of life. They knew that day by day gradually shrinks the span of one's life. (*Rv.* 1.92.10). So we find that this eternal expectation for immortality in man, has found expressions in the voice of the seers' in different ways. Indeed the

Brāhmaṇas also, in their ritualistic details upheld the same idea,[1] the aim of which is to attain 'Svarga' the heaven, an eternal land of pleasure. The same out-look is evident in the *Upaniṣads* also. For instance,[2] the utter indifference of Maitreyī towards all earthly objects, not leading to immortality and the unfailing persistence of Naciketas in securing his final boon from the god Yama, echee the same desire of man for immortality.

Now let us discuss what according to the Vedic seers was the precise sense of immortality. Evidently in the *Ṛgveda* we find prayers for long life, and at the same time for eternal life also.[3] Man is known as the friend of death (*mṛtyubāndhava*[4]), or his life is entied with death.

So instead of thinking about the avoidance of death they preferred to meditate over the transformation of death into immortality.[5] Rightly the fear of death is not unknown in the *Ṛgveda* (*Rv*.8.67.20) but nowhere the deity of death has been referred to as something like terrible or fierce. On the contrary we come to know that it is the god Yama who met death first in order to explore the days for the

1. *Rv*.1.83.5.

2. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*.2.4.2.
Kaṭhopaniṣad.1.20.

3. *Devā na āyuḥ pratirantu jīvase*—*Rv*.1.89.2.
"Paśyema śaradaḥ śatam
jīvema śaradaḥ śatam."
Rv.7.66.16, cf. *Rv*.1.38.4, 1.89.8, 1.23.21, 1.136.6.

4. *Rv*.8.18.22. cf. *Rv*.10.95.18.

5. *Rv*.7.59.12.

fathers.[6] Nay, even the god Soma, the god of immortality also has to face death in its mundane form, when crushed in the sacrifice for producing the juice meant for oblation. Moreover the god Yama has been referred[7] to as the king of the land of immortality, so while entering the land of immortality one must see the god Yama. Thus it may be argued that the sense of the word immortality was not exactly deathlessness but as follows :

Firstly, disregarding the intervention of death during the desired tenure of longevity in this world, i. e., at least a period of hundred years, the period by living which one earns eligibility to enter into immortality.[8]

Secondly, facing death so as to face it once and ever. This is practically the conquering of rebirth in this world. Now as everyone, who is born in the world beneath the sun, is destined to die, the *Brāhmaṇas* propound it as the conquering of repeated death (*Punarmṛtyutaraṇa*[9]). Of course one becomes a victim of this repeated death if death appears before the desired period of one's life. That is one who fails to live here for hundred years falls in the cycle of birth and death, happening in the world under the sun.

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6. *Rv*.10.14.2.
7. *Rv*.9.113.8.
8. Yo vā śatam varṣam jīvati sahaivaitadamṛtamāpnoti—*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*—10.2.2.7-8.

   Cf. *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads* —A. B. Keith, p. 463.
9. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 10.2.6.19. ; A. B. Keith, *ibid.*, p. 464.

   Cf. *A Study of the Important Brāhmaṇas*, p. 109ff.—R. S. Shivaganesha Murthy.

Thirdly, the immortality or *Amṛtatva* was to the seers the divine bliss also. Rightly this sense of immortality has found its unique expression in the concept of Soma of the *Ṛgveda*, the god who is both the drink and the delight of immortality.

Not only this our Vedic seers with their keen insight also realised the path leading to that immortality.

Man, being the son of immortality[10] (*Amṛta*) is considered worthy of getting the same. The god of immortality descends here on this earth in its worldly form like plant affirming man's expectation for immortality.

However to obtain this immortality our Vedic seers, as we find, prayed to the gods who are immortal, and especially to Soma, the god of immortality. It is said that formerly the gods were mortal,[11] and now that they are in heaven and are immortal, it is due to their performance of sacrifice, especially the Soma sacrifice. So the gods are fond of Soma and always want to reserve it. Thus in search of immortality it is quite natural to pray to those who have obtained it.

The gods while winning the *Amṛta* depended on the goddess of *Vāk*,[12] similarly the seers relied on that Vāk, e. g., in the form of prayers to the gods for securing immortality. Moreover, the *Brāhmaṇas* record that once the metres like Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Jagatī made attempts for bringing

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10. *Rv*.10.13.1. Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 6.3.1.17.

11. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 11.3.4.4; Cf. A. B. Keith, *ibid.*, p. 461; Cf. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 2.5.6.5.

12. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.5; 3.18.

down Soma from heaven (*ŚB* 3.2.4.1), and the application of these three metres by our seers mostly in the Soma-hymns affirms the reliance on these metres also in quest of soma. It is known that the gods performed the Soma-sacrifice and wanted to preserve that Soma, the drink, which gave them immortality.[13] Similarly our ancient Indians also in the long run relied on the god Soma and invariably realised the importance of performing that sacrifice with the oblation, viz., Soma, as available in its terrestrial form. The peculiarity of the sacrifice lies in the fact that here Soma appears in both the forms of god and oblation and which when completed carries the Yajamāna to the abode of Soma, known as the Amṛta-loka, the sphere of immortality.[14]

Thus finally it appears that as one, with a view to fulfil all the desires of his life takes resort to nothing but to that one desire alone–i. e., the desire for immortality, so in view of obtaining immortality one has no other way but to depend on the god of immortality alone, viz., Soma.

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13. *Tvām devāso amṛtāya Kam papuḥ* *Rv*.9.105.8.

14. *Rv*.9.113.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

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The two Sanskrit epics–*Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* have deeply influenced the total South East Asian Culture. The stories of *Mahābhārata* and particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa* were very much popular all over the countries of South East Asia, so much so that the impact of Brahmanical religion, culture, language and art may be seen on their civilizations. Inscriptions and monuments found there also point to the wide spread popularity of these two Sanskrit epics.

I

The study of the famous Rāma saga in different countries of South-East Asia took a new line of development among the people of those countries incorporating in its body a number of indigenous folk-tales and legends, making it many a distinct versions different from the basic story of Rāma as depicted in the original *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. In the range and completeness of permeation of Sanskrit influence, in its richness and persistence, and in its becoming a permanent and integral part of the life of the people to this day in South-East Asia it is really unparalleled. Besides other features, it is the all pervasive influence over the entire area of the two Sanskrit epics–the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*–and particularly of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that is

most remarkable. Dynasties of kings named after Rāma and the capital called Ayudhyā (Ayodhyā) in Thailand in twelfth-thirteenth centuries A.D., the *Rāmāyaṇa* sculptures in Angkor and Prambanan, versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with different but allied local names in all the countries, temples dedicated to Vālmīki in Tra-kieu in Campā, scenes of beautiful dance-dramas and shadow plays from the *Rāmāyaṇa* all over South-East Asia—all these unmistakably point to the stark reality that the entire civilisation in that part of the world was born out of the epic of Vālmīki.

Narrating the extra-ordinary sway of the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the people of those countries, a scholar has pointed out that "from one end to the other, people continue to weep at the misfortunes of Rāma and Sītā".[1] Concluding his survey of Indianism and its expansion F. W. Thomas aptly remarks: "There is one very impressive particular matter which presents itself both in further India and Java; and that is the literary predominance of the two great epics—the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa,* attested by allusion in inscriptions by versions, by representations in art.....May we not say that on the circumference of Hinduism we can read plainly what is a partly latent truth at the centre, namely, that the fundamentally Indian culture was the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and that these were sufficient to constitute Indian culture?".[2] This cultural influence was so absorbing, so tantalizing and so widespread that it penetrated into every sphere of life in those lands. For instance, many places all over the area bear Indian place-names such as Campā.

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1. Quoted by V. Raghvan, "Sanskrit in South and East Asian Literature", in *Hindutva,* Vol. VI, No. 8, 1975, p. 22.

2. Quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Videha, Mithilā, etc., and the Indian *Pallava Grantha* script was used for all writing purposes, and Hindu coronation rituals, official names and titles in Sanskrit were universally popular. Moreover the Hindu sacrifices and religious rites including elaborate *mudrās,* chronology, gods and goddesses and myths and traditions came to be enthusiastically adopted and zealously preserved in this region.[3]

Sanskrit had become so popular in Indonesia that it was studied and taught to foreigners. I-tsing learnt Sanskrit in Sumatra. It was from Indonesia that Sanskrit and Indian influence spread to other Islands up to the Philippines. It is true that the vandalism of the Spanish invaders has destroyed its evidence—literary, monumental and artistic—with the result that the paucity of material has hampered reconstruction of Hindu cultural traits embedded to Philippine culture, but a close study of 76 languages or dialects of the large complex of islands forming this group, by scholars like Kern de Javera and J. Francisco,[4] has shown the existence of Sanskrit loan-words in Tagalog and some other languages of the island. The wide range of Hindu influence in the field of religion, law, literature, agriculture, industry and kinship was so deep-rooted in the Philippines that the Spaniards found it hard to convert these, "idolators" when they appeared on the political scene of the Philippines after the exist of the Muslims. These influences came to these islands not directly from India but from Indonesia during the Hindu-Javanese period of Śrīvijaya empire. The most important symbol of Sanskrit and Hindu contact is the

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

4. Cf. His thesis, *"Indian Influences in Philippines,* University of Philippines, 1954.

national emblem of the Philippines—the *Viṇā* of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, called *Kacchapi*. It has been rightly remarked by J. Gonda that "Sanskrit language was known and studied by Javanese and other Indonesian intellectuals. Many inscriptions are written in good and almost flawless Sanskrit, and the numerous technical and, more or less literary works, written, translated or condensed, show that India's sacred language and literature were highly cultivated".[5] According to R. Winstedt, "from the cradle to the grave the Malay is surrounded by survivals of Indian culture"[6] and the same is true of the people of all other countries of those areas.

II

The archaeologists may or may not believe in the historicity of the Rāma-story in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but the fact remains that of the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is unquestionably one of the greatest literary works of the world which has inspired and swayed millions of people throughout India and Asia as well as parts of Europe because of its great intrinsic moral value and spiritual appeal.[7] That the *Rāmāyaṇa*, apart from being a great literary creation, is also a repository of a great historical and cultural saga is universally accepted; that it has helped build up the moral character of the millions of people since the days of its composition can not be disputed and that it still exercised a tremendous

5. Quoted, V. Raghavan, *op. cit.*, 23.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

7. S. K. Chatterji, Foreword in S. Sahai, *The Rāmāyaṇa in Laos*, p. ix.

impact on the life of the people in India and outside is testified by the two International seminars on the *Rāmāyaṇa* held recently at Djakarta (Indonesia) and New Delhi respectively, which focussed attention on the researches being conducted on the *Rāmāyaṇa* in different languages not only in India but in most of the countries of Asia, and a few countries of Europe and America. And, for the first time, the people all over the world realised, of course, through these seminars, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* forms, a sort of a National Epic for so many nations in their own languages—not only in Sanskrit and the ancient languages of India, but in all the various medieval and modern Indian languages as well as languages outside India like Indonesian in its various forms. Thai, Laos and other related languages. Cham. Khmer or Cambodian, Mon or Talaing. Burmese, Simhalese. Chinese in its various forms, Korean. Japanese, Mongolian. Tibetan, Old Khotanese. etc.".[8] where though the basic story of Rāma as given in the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* (of Vālmīki) has been substantially retained, we come across a series of variations which are responsible for the birth of new versions and recensions in most of these languages giving new forms and situations not found in the original Sanskrit text. It may be noted here that within India itself there are other versions or recensions, besides that of Vālmīki, which give new topics and new situations in the story that are not found in Vālmīki. In other words, it may be said that, besides, Vālmīki's version, there were other forms of the *Rāmāyaṇa* story prevalent in India itself furnishing the legend in different forms. "The relationship between these various versions within India itself and also in the

8. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

Rāmāyaṇa story as current in the various non-Indian languages becomes a subject of study of highest importance in comparative Literature".[9] This also suggests that "each ethnic community remodelled it according to its current religious thought, its social structure and its natural environment. Each then called from the Indian masterpiece, specially from the Sanskrit version by Vālmīki, the main episodes and characters, recast them by developing some relevant features or discarding some others deemed unsuitable".[10] Furthermore new characters were created and more intricate episodes incorporated and passed on to neighbouring countries. It is, therefore, not surprising to find different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in one country, bearing the mark of the contemporary religious and intellectual traits.[11] It may not be out of place to mention here that after the preliminary work of the Dutch and French scholars, the Rāma story in Indonesia and Indo-China attracted the notice of some scholars in India who have now taken up the study of the Rāma story as presented by the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese traditions, and the importance of this comparative study is now becoming clear to us.

Vālmīki was great, but his epic is even greater. If the *Mahābhārata* emphasises the practical aspects of life, the *Rāmāyaṇa* preaches the highest ideals of it. Even now to millions of men, women and children in India and throughout the greater part of Asia, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not a mere tale. It has more truth and meaning than the events in one's own life. Just as plants grow under the influence of

9. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

10. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

11. *Ibid.*, p. ix.

sun-light the people of India and greater parts of Asia grow in mental strength and culture by absorbing the glowing inspiration of the *Rāmāyaṇa* which has been recognised by some as the criticism of the Hindu way of life, where ancient traditions and ideas, ideals and novelties are easily found. The best and the noblest Hindu traditions and ideals of the times during, before and after it was written, are worked out in the personalities of Rāma, Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumāna, and others who exert dynamic impression on the mind. Rāma, amongst them, was crowned with such ideal qualities that in the course of centuries he came to be regarded as God-incarnate by many. His character was recognised by all to be the very embodiment of *Dharma*. Similarly, other characters of the epic have extremely influenced the Asian Society in general and that of India in particular. Infact, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* have remained as the eternal source of ethics and ancient culture. "The *Mahābhārata* is in fact a veritable ocean containing countless pearls and gems: it is, with the *Rāmāyaṇa,* a living fountain of the ethics and culture of our mother land".[12] That unity is proved by nothing so much as by the universal appeal of Rāma's story to the major parts of the Asian continent and by the unmistakable and profound influence exerted by it in conjunction with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* on the daily life and outlook of the people of these countries. No other poem in the history of the world has woven itself into the mental texture of as many as forty countries as Vālmīki's epic has done which is clear from a study of the various non-Indian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* done for the

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12: C. Rajgopalachari, *Mahābhārata,* p. 19.

first time in Hindi by the Late Father Camille Bulcke in his celebrated work, the *Rāmakathā* as well as some very good works on the Indonesian *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Thai *Ramakien* (*Rāma-kīrthi*), besides a host of books on the different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in various countries of Asia. But the Lao version of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* though noticed by French scholars as early as 1932, was not properly studied and this missing link in the chain of Asian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* has of late been ably restored by S. Sahai who has also re-edited one version of the Rāma story in Lao, the *Phra Lāk Phra Lām* or the *Phra Lām Sadok* in two volumes published in 1973.

III

Prof. V. Raghavan's valuable book, *The Rāmāyaṇa in Greater India,* published in 1975, is so far the most remarkable work in this field which gives a detailed conspectus of how the Rāma story entered into all the countries of Asia outside India, and its value has been enhanced by a number of useful plates as well as by a very comprehensive and quite helpful index. It has been rightly remarked by the Late Prof. S. K. Chatterji that "for the present this work may be looked upon as quite a classic in English on the subject of the *Rāmāyaṇa* outside India". In this celebrated work there is a section on the Rāma story among the Laotian people containing a list of all previous works done on the subject. But for these references and Kamalā Ratnam's interesting paper on some of the versions of Lao Rāma story as preserved in hitherto unpublished manuscripts found in Vientiane and other places in Laos, the Laos version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was more or less a sealed book to the world of letters. S. Sahai's efforts have brought to light many intri-

guing facts of this story hitherto unknown.[13] It is interesting to note that the Lao *Rāmāyaṇa* depicts Sītā as the daughter of Rāvaṇa which, as rightly suggested by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, has it's analogies with a certain late Indian version of the Rāma story also. Besides, we have references to brother-sister marriages in many of the confused stories given in this version, and in this way the Lao Rāma-story is considerably different from other versions in matters of thematic and stylistic considerations. Moreover, the mural paintings of Vat Out-moung, a famous Buddhist monastery in Vietiane illustrating the episodes from the Lao version of the Rāma-story are a remarkable feat. These paintings depict a related series of thirty-three episodes rendering it easy for scholars to explain some significant differences between the mural painting version and the literary versions current in Laos.[14]

The classical Lao verses follow the metrics of Indian prosody and the metre is regulated by the number of syllables and their quantity. In fact the true classical Lao poetry is formed of translations of Indian poems and even Lao folklore is product of the Indian pantheon.[15] The Lao people sing of the charm and beauty of nature and of love and its attractions. Their dances, gestures and movement recall Indian origins, the themes of which are taken from Hindu and Buddhist stories such as the epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[24]

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13. S. Sahai (edited), *Phra Lāk Phra Lam* or *Phra Lām Sadok* in 2 Volumes published in 1973.

14. S. Sahai, *The Ramāyaṇa in Laos,* p. xiii.

15. Virachitha Keomanichanh, *India and Laos,* Chap. VI.

and legendary episodes.[16] The *Molam* is an important genre of literature which "evokes the marvels of paradise, the powers of Indra, the cruelty of Yama, the atrocities of hell; and on the other hand the beauties of full moon, the enchantments of woods and seasons.[17] Thus, the story of Rāma (*Rāmakathā, the Phra Lāk Phra Lām* or *The Phra Lām Sadok,* a Lao version of the story of Rāma) is as popular in Laos, Thailand and other countries of South-East Asia as it is in India. In fact, "the abiding and fundamental human values and social ideas of the Rāma legend have contributed to the central place it has come to occupy in the cultural life of the peoples of most South-East Asian Countries. In each country while the Central theme of the Rāma legend has been maintained, the narration of the epic has evolved considerably in such a way as to reflect the environment, civilisation and culture of each country which has resulted in the emergence of classical masterpieces of literature.[18]

Besides literature, the classical Lao theatre having Indian origin was considerably developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their gestures and movements remind one of Indian choreography and the scenes represented in general the episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*[19]

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16. *Ibid.,* Chap. VI.

17. Dawee Daweewarn, *Brāhmaṇism in South-East Asia,* p. 257.

18. S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.,* p. xiii.

19. For other details, see Upendra Thakur, "Elements of Hindu Culture in Laos" in *Proceedings, Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia,* Bangkok, 1977, p. 778ff.

India's ties with Malaysia are older than is generally recognised, and Malaysia felt the full impact of Brāhmaṇic culture in its all walks of life. Its arts and craft, literature and folklore, script and language and theatre are "the living examples of the Brāhmaṇic culture".[20] In a few countries of the world, theatre is as popular a mass medium as in Malaysia and Indonesia.[21] The favourite themes for dance, drama, puppet-shows (*Wayang Orang*) and shadow-play (*Wayang-julit*) are taken from the Indian epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. "The shadow-play version of the epics was always preferred to their written form but some literary works of this genre have survived. The oldest manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (the *Hikayat Seri Rāma*) is based on a Tamil prototype."[22] Besides this, an unpublished manuscript of the *Malay Rāmāyaṇa* is preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society Library, London. Another survival of the pre-Islamic period are the Malay translations of the Javanese Cycle of *Pañjī* tales which has freely borrowed from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the folk-lore of South India. Infact, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is so popular in Malaysia that the foliation in the old type of large bottle-stands, pedestals, etc., often carries figures from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[23] The Malay author of the *Sejarah Malayu*, (or *Malay Annals*) knew, among other languages, words from Sanskrit and Tamil and shows his familiarity with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and the Cycle of *Pañjī*-tales.

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20. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

21. For details see R. O. Winstedt, *The Malays: A Cultural History*, p. 91ff.

22. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

The Kedah annals or the *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* are full of local folk-lore and myths and stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Jātakas*, the historical

Malacca was a strong centre of Hindu Culture in the fifteenth century where the Tamil recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was translated into Malay, and Indo-Javanese culture remained a strong force there even after the conversion of the rulers to Muslim faith. This was strengthened by the Tamil strain in the royal family particularly in one branch of the Bendaharas.

IV

The beginnings of the Brāhmaṇical influence in Indonesia are shrouded in mystery. When, in the early fifth century A.D. the oldest historical sources begin to throw light on this problem, we find that Sanskrit and Brāhmaṇical religion had already found their way into the archipelago.[25] And, by the time of King Mūlavarman, the Brāhmaṇical influence seems to have taken deep roots in Indonesia.[26]

From inscriptions it is clear beyond doubt that Central Java was, in the 8th-9th centuries, the scene of a Hindu-Javanese Culture which produced the Indo-Javanese Literature—a unique development in the field of literature nowhere to be seen in South-East Asia, and which forms

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24. R. O. Winstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 91ff.

25. G. Coedes, *Lesetats hindouises d'Indochine et Indonesie*, p. 33ff; Bernet Kemper, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, p. 8ff.

26. For more details see Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-64.

one of the most characteristic features of the Brāhmaṇical culture in Indonesia. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, the oldest books were the Indo-Javanese versions of a Sanskrit lexicon of the type of *Amarakośa* and the great epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* is one of the best and most famous works of Indo-Javanese literature. It is infact not a translation of the Sanskrit epic, but an independent work. Its subject-matter agrees quite well with that of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki but it concludes with the re-union of Rāma and Sītā after the fire-ordeal of the latter and does not contain the story of her banishment and death.[27]

This beautiful poem, (Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*), at least for its greater part, is an adoptation from the Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* which uses the *Rāmāyaṇa* story to illustrate Sanskrit grammar and partly from an unknown source. The popularity of this *Rāmāyaṇa*—which was also well-known in Campā in the seventh century—lies in "its beauty and the high degree of skill and proficiency of its poet who succeeded in using a variety of metres and in making his work an exemplary product of Kāvya technique".[28] In this context we may further mention the temple-complex of Panataran (old name : Palah), the greatest and most famous monument in Eastern Java whose characteristic features were the decorated pilasters at the corners projecting infront and supporting a miniature temple above the floor of the terrace, and the narrative reliefs on the central part representing scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* completed during the

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27. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

28. W. F. Stutterheim, *Rāma-Legenden and Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesia* (For Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* Sculpture).

reign-period of Rajasanagara, the chief king of Majapahit (A.D. 1350-1389). In the second terrace, the central part is covered by continuous bas-reliefs illustrating the *Kṛṣṇā-yaṇa*. All this shows that the Rāma-story had become an inseparable part of the religious life of the people of Indonesia.[29]

In Bāli we have a kind of "protective *stuti*" which is known as the *Kavaca*. Like Indian poems of the category, in the *Kavaca* a deity is invoked to enter each limb of the worshipper's body through his divine manifestations. The finest specimen of this literature in Bāli is the *Rāmakavaca* of 22 stanzas in beautiful Sanskrit. The *Kavaca* proper covers only 1-8 verses and the rest of the poem praises Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and recommends their worship. "It is quite surprising to find that verses 15c-17d are nearly completely identical with two *ślokas* from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (3, 8, 11, critical Ed. and a variant)".[30] The story of Rāma has tremendously influenced the Balanese and Javanese literatures and even to-day Rāma is one of the heroes of the famous local shadow-play known as *Wayang*.[31]

Coming to Borneo, we should remember that the Hindu epics had been especially absorbed and imbibed by the Annamites and the Javanese. The versions that had been adapted and redacted from the various sources make interes-

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29. For details see, *Ibid.*

30. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

31. For details see W. F. Stutterheim, *Indian Influences in old Balinese Art*, p. 22ff; C. Hooykaas, "*Preliminary Remarks on Vaiṣṇavism in Balinese Journal of the Oriental Institute, of Baroda*, Vol. XIV, 1964-65, p. 326ff.

ting reading ; and "not only they show the sense of belonging generally evinced in the heritage, but also follow the pattern guided by the local myths and predilections".[32] For instance, the Annamite version of Rāma legend is entitled "The King of Demons",[33] and Rāma and Sītā received fanciful names while Daśaratha and Rāvaṇa were exactly synonymous to their Sanskrit names and are called 'the ten-chariots' and the 'ten headed'.[34] The last redaction of the Rāma legend in Campā from the Annamite sources is as late as the 18th century A.D. It is interesting to note here that in the Tibetan version of the Rāma legend also we fail to connect any corresponding derivative source of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in India, but the version generally appears to have followed the narration of the Rāma story in the *Vana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*.

Cambodia was the most Indianised state in the whole of South-East Asia which bore the deepest impress of Brāhmanical religion, culture, language and art. Khmer literature like Khmer writings, is largely cast in an Indian mould, though modified with a distinctive nature tradition. In the western sense of the term no Khmer theatre exists, but form of ballet or rhythmical pantomime based on classical subjects from Indian sources—especially the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rāmker*) and the *Mahābhārata* are performed.[35]

A inscription from Veal Kantal (6th century A.D.) in Cambodia provided the earliest reference to the recitation

32. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

33. *BEFEO*, Vol. V, p. 168.

34. *Ibid.*.

35. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

of a *Purāṇa* (the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*) along with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in a temple.[36] The stele of Prāsāt Barmei (end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century A.D.) contain reference to the recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.[37] Yet another inscription of Prāsāt Sankhan mentions the desirability of reciting the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.[38] Infact, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was so popular in Cambodia that arrangements were made for the daily recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* along with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and it was considered an act of great merit to present hand-written copies of these texts to the temples.[39]

That the two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were quite popular in Campā (modern Vietnam) can be seen from a number of allusions to the main characters and episodes described in these works. We have references to the glories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, to Rāma, son of Daśaratha, to Yudhiṣṭhira, Duryodhana and Yuyutsu, to irrepressible valour of Dhanañjaya, and to the son of Pāṇḍu[40] The allusion to the epithet 'Ekākṣapiṅgala of Kuvera' is evidently

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36. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during the Pallave Rule*, pp. 82-83. Also see J. Gonda, *Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Vol. II, p. 254.

37. *Inscription du Cambodge*, Vol. VI, p. 216.

38. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

39. For further references in various inscriptions, see M. K. Sharan, *Studies in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Ancient Cambodia*, pp. 49, 83, 104, 181, 187-88, 192, 232, 234, 236, 243, 245; 300; 302 & 303.

40. Cf. Ins. Nos. 41, 74, 12, 23 & 39.

also based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[41] All these point to a very intimate knowledge of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and also the *Mahābhārata* on the part of the people of Campā.[42]

In early Siam (modern Thailand) Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism, it appears, took parallel paths "without seriously colliding with each other until they obtained a happy coalition in the cross road of Tāntric Mahāyānism".[43] As a result of this the Thais in general have a great respect for Purāṇic Brāhmaṇism although "they are upbred by the strong veneer of orthodox Buddhism", i. e.,[44] Theravāda or Hīnayāna. In the place-names, dance, drama, language, literature and art and festivals and ceremonies of modern Thailand "a subtle and subterranean flow of Brāhmaṇism may be easily detected just beneath. The uppermost thin layer is of Thai Buddhism".[45] And, all of them are chiefly inspired by the Brāhmaṇical mythology and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Thai : *Rāmakīrti* or *Rāmakien*).

Though the Siamese *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rāmakien*) was written for performance, it is not divided into acts and scenes as modelled upon the classical Indian or Greek types. It is one long story without division, accompanied throughout by stage-directions. The long story is composed roughly of three parts :

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41. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 223.

(i) An introductory part which deals with the origins of the three races that inhabited the world of the time, adopted for the drama, namely (a) the human, (b) the demoniac and (c) the Simian. They traced their origins mostly from the Hindu heavens as accepted in Buddhist literature.[46]

(ii) A narrative of the story of Rāma which follows in main details the gist of the world-renowned Sanskrit poetry —the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

(iii) An additional episode of the wandering of Rāma in the forest to relieve his mental agony due to losing again his beloved Sīdā (Sītā), is found in the Siamese *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Rāmakien*) which is not found in the original epic.

There is a considerable divergence of opinion among scholars as to where the plot begins. The murals in the galleries of the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha commence with the discovery in the bowels of the earth of Sīdā.[47] While the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, the Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin* and the Cambodian *Rāmker* commence with the reign of Daśaratha, Rāma's father, prior to the birth of his four sons ; the bas-reliefs of Prambanan begin their story with the birth of Rāma and his brothers "tracing it back to the invitation of the gods extended to Viṣṇu to re-incarnate in the world to exterminate the evil race of demons such as Tośakaṇṭh (Rāvaṇa), Mārīca and many others. With a few exceptions most of the characters have also the same names as in the original epic, and the entire story as well as settings

46. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

are almost the same, except an additional narrative noted above.

The story of Rāma was so popular in Thailand, that the subjectmatter of most of the Thai paintings also illustrate the scenes of episodes from the famous Hindu spics, particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. Besides painting, the Khon or classical Thai dramatic art also takes its subject-matter from the *Rāmāyaṇa.* "The themes of painting are taken from the *Rāmakien,* and the fantasy and force of expression of the ancient Thai artist had no limit. Indeed the painted army of the spirited monkeys of Rāma, and the opposing army of the *rākṣas* or demons of Rāvaṇa (Tośakanth in Thai) fighting each other are exceptionally alive."[48]

V

A study of the inscriptions and monuments found in different countries of South-East Asia also points to the widespread popularity of the two Indian epics, particuiarly the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Epigraphical sources inform us how the epics were caused to be recited in temples there as in the case of South India. From a Cambodian inscription we know that Śrī-Somaśarmā, a Brāhmaṇa, presented the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Purāṇas* and a complete *Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*) to a temple (c. 600 A.D.) and made arrangements for their recitation.[49] Even more striking is the information we get from an

48. Promsak Jermsawatdi, *Thai Art,* p. 79 ; For further details see Dhanit Yupho, The *Khon,* Bangkok, 1971, p. 6.

49. Elliot, III, p. 120 ; *BEFEO,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 149.

inscription (Tra-kien inscription) in Campā[50] which says that King Prakāśadharma (653-79 A.D.) dedicated an image and temple to Vālmīki, the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In the case of Indonesia, scholars[51] generally believe that the local *Rāmāyaṇa* version was based on the Indian versions—written and traditional—and perhaps more primitive—and not so much on Vālmīki. But, as we have shown above the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs from Prambanan (West Java) were the most celebrated and ancient (9th century A.D.) and "though Indian in character, are not based on Vālmīki's work. On the other hand, strangely, the later Panataran (East Java) scenes of the 14th century A.D. in Indo-Javanese style are more coherent in following Vālmīki".[52]

A unique undated record of King Prakāśadharma[53] provides a valuable glimpse into the remarkably early context of the assimilation of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* even including the controversial *Uttarakāṇḍa.* It refers to the cult of Ekasṛṅga Piṅgala and how Kubera got one eye burnt yellow, owing to his having gazed impertently at Pārvatī. The legend is narrated in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (13, 21-31), and the phraseology of the versified account found in the Campā record of Prakāśadharma is quite close to the above source. Again, in the Musee Khmer at Phnom Penh[54] we have ten groups of delightful and ancient pain-

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50. *Ibid.*

51. *BEFEO,* XXVIII, p. 506; *JRAS,* 1926, p. 362.

52. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.,* p. 292.

53. *BEFEO,* Vol. IV, p. 928; A. K. N. Sastri, *Journal of the Oriental Research,* Vol. VI, 1931.

54. Paramentier, *BEFEO,* Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 47-50.

tings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* episodes, got from Kambuja version of the *Bālakāṇḍa* including Janaka's discovery of Sītā, Rāma breaking the bow of Śiva, Paraśurāma's encounter with Rāma, etc. Again, at Ben Mulu[55] sculptured scenes of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* exist which depict the fighting of Rāvaṇa, after Prahasta, the commander had been killed by Nīla and the restoration of the dead monkeys through the help of Intra. We have already noted the importance of the mural paintings of Vat, Out-moung, a famous Buddhist monastery in Vientians illustrating the various scenes from the Lao *Rāmāyaṇa* in the preceding pages. Besides these. the famous edifice of Angkor Vat (10th-12th cent. A.D.)[56] bas-reliefs depict the scenes of fighting between Bālī and Sugrīva, the death of Bālī by Rāma and the subsequent expression of grief by the womenfolk, the meeting of Vibhīṣaṇa and Rāma. and the fire-ordeal of Sītā after the war was over. Here again (at Angkor Vat) we have the depiction of the *Kailāśatolana* by Rāvaṇa which forms a favourite theme of the Indian sculptors and which is immortalised at the Kailāśa cave at Ellora. "Of some local stylistic interest in this context is the depiction of Rāvaṇa's heads arranged like a pyramid, and manner of display of his full score of number of arms. It is unique in form."[57]

As noted above, the Rāma reliefs from Prambanan (Java) reflect the unique artistic calibre of early Javanese art as well as its indebtedness to the Indian epic. The story, as depicted, begins with an invocation to the Lord

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55. *BEFEO*, Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 47-50.

56. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 6, pp. 2-4.

57. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 293. For other details see R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Pt. III, No. 24 (6).

of Vaikuṇṭha by Brahmā and the *devas* for being born as an incarnation in this world in order to exterminate the evil-incarnate, Rāvaṇa and other rākṣasas. This panel is known as Vaikuṇṭhanātha panel, since the God here is not reclining, but is portrayed in the posture of Vīralalita. To his left is shown Garuḍa—the national symbol of Java—whose importance can also be shown in the Erlangga figure of Belaha. The God in the Vaikuṇṭhanātha panel is shown hearing the petitions presented by Brahmā and bestows on him the *abhaya-dāna* by his lower left hand while the sage's (Brahmā's) partly is in rapt attention following the dialogue. The Oceanic setting of the scene is beautifully portrayed by the craftsmen of Java.

Groneman suggested that the figures to Viṣṇu's left with the sage-like persons represented Daśaratha and his queens, praying to Viṣṇu. But the presence of four male figures with *Kirīṭamukuṭa* and a sage-like main leader with *jaṭābhara* does not support his contention.[58] Havell also suggests that the four accompanying figures are not females, they are infact Rāma and his brothers alongwith Vasiṣṭha.[59] But, it seems that they are more probably Brahmā and the four *dikpālas* namely Kubera, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama praying to the God.[60]

In Japan we have the *Taiheiki,* the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Japanese language, which besides the general theme, narrates the story of *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.* Winternitz while explaining the purpose of this legend says that various versions of this legend may be found in other Indian works of literature,

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58. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.,* p. 294.

59. E. B. Hawell, *Indian Sculptures and Paintings,* pp. 133-34.

60. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.,* p. 294.

especially in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the *Padma Purāṇa* and in the Buddhist *Jātaka* book. But, how popular this tale was, is shown by its being familiar in different versions in Tibet, China and Japan and in its having left traces behind even in the unicorn-legend of the West.

Thus, the above survey would show that Brāhmaṇism was the spring that fed the fountain of culture in South-East Asia[61] and Far East of which the main source were the two great epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In Indonesia, when the Muslims appeared on the scene, the Brāhmaṇic spring dried up and the fountain remained as an ornamental relic of the past which ceased to give the life-giving water. But, in Indo-China this current never stopped inspite of the onrush of Islam : on the other hand, it continued to thrive as before, though Brāhmaṇical culture was greatly modified by the indigenous races, "whom it has constantly endowed with higher and higher elements of civilisation".[62] Thus, Brāhmaṇism along with its inseparable element—the *Rāma Kathā* "still survives as a living force in Cambodia, Thailand, Campā (Vietnam), Burma and the solitary island of Bāli, leaving a trail of memorials behind".[63]

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61. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

REGENT QUEENS OF WESTERN INDIA : A STUDY

DR. TRIPAT SHARMA
Kaithal

During the early medieval period, only the major male heir-apparents, by tradition, got the throne. The author in this paper puts forth the three instances in which the mothers of the minor heir-apparents took up the total charge of their kingodoms and bravely faced the internal and external dangers.

The study is especially devoted to the early medieval period, i. e., c. 9th C.A.D. to c. 12th C.A.D., during which the most important clans that ruled over the region were Parmaras, Chalukyas, Chahmanas and Guhilas of Mewar. As per tradition, the male heir-apparents and there also the major ones occupied the throne. "Minor kings had not any great chance in the turbulant age. Generally they were passed over in favour of someone better qualified to rule. But in a few cases there were regencies."[1] There are three such instances that require attention, where mothers picked up courage at the demise of their husbands and during the minority of their sons acted as regents. It

1. Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 1959, Delhi, p. 96.

has been observed that during their regencies, they were not passive participants but were actively engaged in defying internal as well as external dangers for the security of their progeny and to sustain the legacies of their husbands. During their regencies they were mostly engaged in welfare activities of the state.

1. *Naiki Devi* :

Naiki Devi was the chief queen of Ajayapāla and mother of Mūlarāja-II and Bhīmadeva-II. She was the daughter of Parmardin. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*[2] *states* that Mūlarāja-II was still a minor when he had to occupy the throne at the death of his father. Naiki Devi, his mother had to function for him as the queen regent. Merutuṅga[3] had recorded very little about Mūlarāja and we get the informations recorded referring to the bold regency of the queen Naiki Devi. She was a brave lady who fought against Mlecchas at Gadurgarh taking the child in her lap (उत्संगे शिशुं नृपं विधाय). Similar example is found during nineteenth century when Rānī Lakṣmī Bāī of Jhansi fought against the Britishers.[4]

It is so stated that she was helped in her struggle by God due to her chaste life. It rained out of season and she

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2. Merutuṅga : *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, 1983, Gaya, p. 153 (Hereafter P. C.) .

3. *Ibid.*

4. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 1936, Calcutta, Vol. 2, p. 1004.

conquered the *Mlecchas.*[5] The *Kīrtikaumudī,*[6] the *Sukṛta Saṃkīrtana*[7] and *Vasanta Vilāsa*[8] state that Mūladeva in his childhood defeated the Mohammedans. Veraval Inscription[9] of Bhīmadeva-II states that Mūlarāja conquered Hammīra in battle. The four kaḍi Grants[10] of Bhīma-II. Mūlarāja-II is assigned the epithet :

पराभूत दुर्जय गर्ज्जनकाधिराज

again

म्लेच्छ-तमो-निचयच्छत्र मही-वलय-प्रद्योतन-बालर्क[11]

But all these praises are deserved by the regent queen as she was having the active control over the kingdom. Surprisingly, her name does not appear anywhere but for the occasion of the actual conflict with the Mlecchas. Mūlarāja ruled as a minor under the regency of his mother for three years and died. He was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīmadeva-II, obviously a minor, and again under the regency of his mother like his elder brother.

From Mohammedan accounts also it has been known that Sultan Muizz-ud-din unsuccessfully attacked Gujrat in 574 A.H. (c. 1178 A.D.). Whether the historians give the name of Mūlarāja-II or Bhīmadeva-II, it is apparent

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5. *P. C.,* p. 154.

6. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. 1, Pt. 1, p. 195.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Chaman Lal Dalal, *Vasanta Vilāsa,* 1917, Baroda.

9. Bhavanagar, Archaeological Department *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Katty work,* p. 210.

10. *Indian Antiquity,* Vol. 7, p. 201.

11. *Ibid.,* p. 19

that the Mohammedans were defeated under the regency of the valiant queen mother Naiki Devi. All the credit goes to her personal character.

But for one paragraph no further account of her regency is available. It might be that Naiki Devi became ambitious after her victory over Mohammedans so she might had been relieved off the regency. This might be the reason for the description of Mūlarāja with all epithets instead of the mention of the regency of the queen-mother Naiki Devi in the later epigraphical records. Alternatively, this might be due to the prevalent tradition of attaching importance to the male king and the contribution of the queen, in whatsoever capacity it may be, not recorded directly and in clear words—she being a member of the fair-sex-having no defined place in Indian Polity as a direct functionary of the state.

2. *Karpur Devi* :

Karpur Devi was the wife of king Someśvara and the mother of Pṛthvīrāja-III. In *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya,* the following information is available regarding her marriage with Someśvara. Someśvara was brought up by his maternal grand parents. "After the death of his grandfather Cālukya king Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, his nephew Kumārapāla succeeds to the throne as the former expires issueless. He brings up Someśvara, son of Arnoraja and Kanchan Devi and proves the worth of his name Kumārapāla-protector of the child. During Kumārapāla's attack on Konakana, Someśvara cuts off the head of the enemy king with his own sword : Someśvara then marries Karpuradevi, the daughter of the king of Tripuri......"[12] Thus, Karpuradevi—the Kalchuri prin-

12. Chandra Prabha, *Historical Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit*, 1976, Delhi, p. 151.

cess of Tripuri was the wife of Chahamana Someśvara. She was a brave lady and belonged to a tradition where royal ladies ruled over their countries at needy hours. As such, they were equipped with proper education in state administration.[13]

However, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma relates about Karpuradevi's marriage as, "Someśvara's marriage took place when he was in Gujarat. He married Karpuradevi, the daughter of one Achala who is described in the *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya* as the lord of Tripuri and identified by Dr. D. C. Sircar with the Kalachuri ruler Gayakarna (c. 1125-55 A.D.). As Achala's younger brother Bhuvanaikamalla, however, was young enough about c. 1180 A.D. to serve the Chauhanas as soldier and general during the minority of his niece's son Pṛthvīrāja-III".[14] Someśvara had two sons namely Pṛthvīrāja-III and Harirāja. Both were minor when incidentally Someśvara died after a rule of eight years. The throne of Ajmer and Śakambhari were left with Someśvara's wife Karpuradevi and her two minor sons.[15] She picked up courage and assumed the charge of administration.[16] In ancient Indian politics, the minister's functions were largely advisory, the last word always lay with the king. During emergency, however, the ministers could and did exercise a good deal of authority. When Pṛthvīrāja-II died without leaving any son, Someśvara was brought over from Gujarat and was put on the throne of Ajmer. On his death, the ministers made the widowed queen Karpur Devi, the regent

13. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1913, p. 277.

14. Dasharatha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

15. Chandra Prabha, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

for her minor sons and helped her administer successfully the affairs of the kingdom inspite of hostile neighbours on almost all sides.[17]

Canto IX of *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya* begins with the description of the prosperous conditions of Ajayameru during the regency of the queen Karpurdevi and the coronation of Pṛthvīrāja-III. "During her regency the city is so densly populated and there are so many gardens, tanks and wells, that not more than one tenth of the earth is visible to the sun. Under the guidance of Kadambavasa Pṛthvīrāja received good education."[18]

In administration Karpurdevi was assisted by Kadambavasa, the chief-minister known as Kaimasa in *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* and mentioned as Maṇḍaleśvara Kaimasa in *Kharatarangacchapattavali* of Jinapala.

3. *Mynul Devi* :

Mynul Devi was the daughter of the king Jayakeshee of Chanderpur. There are different versions regarding her marriage with Karna. According to *Rāsmala*,[19] Karna Raja appears to have been for a long time denied the blessings of a son to succeed him. Towards the end of his reign a romantic incident occured that ended into his re-marriage and made him the father of young prince Siddharāja who was destined to raise to its culmination the glory of unhilawara. Once, it is so said that a painter who had travelled widely visited him. He showed to the king a painting in which Lakshmi was represented dancing before a raja and

17. Dasharatha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

18. Chandra Prabha, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

19. A. K. Forbes, *Ras Mala, Hindu annals of Western India*, 1973, New Delhi, p. 81.

beside her there was a maiden much more beautiful than Lakshmi. At once Karna got fascinated by the beauty of the maiden and asked about her where-abouts. The painter exposed that the maiden was Mynul Devi the daughter of Jayakeshee of Chanderpur. He also told that she was already in love with Karna. Seeing his portrait Karna showed a great eagerness for marrying Mynul Devi. the princess was soon conducted to unhilwara (Putan) and married to king Karna. On the other hand *Dvyaśraya* relates this incident in a different manner. "Once a portrait painter happens to arrive at Karna's court and conveys to him the feeling of love entertained by Mayanallā Devi, daughter of king Jayakeshee of Chanderapura. He tells the king that he will marry only her and none else. Then the painter requests the king to accept the presentation of an elephant, standing in the garden, sent by the king Jayakeshee. The king happily goes to see the elephant, where he finds Princess Mayanalladevi standing by the elephant. Seeing her he decides to marry."[20]

"Mynul Devee, however, instead of being possessed of the charms the description of which had so much captuated the king, appeared to him singularly illfavoured, and though he kept his word by allowing the ceremony of a spousal to be performed, he refused to consummate the marriage, and even with his eyes wholly regarded her not."

"Raja Kuran's attitude was not liked by Mynulla Devee. She and Kurun's mother Oodayamuttee decided to finish their lives. The king's subject also object to attitude towards Myenul Devee."[21]

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20. Chandra Prabha, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
21. A. K. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Dvyaśraya relates that the couple settled down and with the grace of Lakshmi they were blessed with a son. "After marrying Mayanalladevi Karnaraja bestows great honour upon her. But the couple is not happy for the want of a son. In order to obtain a son, the king begins to worship Lakshmi......Lakshmi is pleased by his devotion and appears before him. On the request of the king, She confers upon him the boon of a son. This makes Karna happy and he alongwith his wife worships Lakshmi ever after."[22] In *Rāsmala* the birth of Siddhraja has been related as a result of the strategem of minister Moonjal as Karna did not like Mynul Devi:

"The king having fallen in love with the very beautiful actress Nummajala had arranged with her a secret assignation. A minister of the name Moonjal, becoming cognizant of the fact, contrived to substitute Mynul Devee in her place. Kurun fell into the snare, and the queen became pregnant by him, having secured from the hand of her husband his signet ring as a token which could not be disclaimed."[23] In *Rasmalam* it has clearly been described as to how Siddharāja amidst troubles occupied the throne under the regency of his mother Mynul Devi. "Sidh Raj was yet a child when his father Kurun, fixing his thoughts on Vishnoo, went to Indrapoor.......the reins of government were first held by Mudun Pal, the brother of Kurun's mother Oodayamutee; but this prince behaving in a tyrannical manner......... Samtoo having obtained possession of the person of the young prince (Mudun Pal) by a stratagem, and conveyed him to his own house caused Mudun Pal to be put to death by the hand of his soldiers.

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22. Chandra Prabha, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
23. A. K. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Power now passed into the hands of the young sovereign's mother, Myenul Devee, who was assisted by the ministers Samtoo and Moonjal and by another named Ooda......".[24]

The unusual sorrow of Devaprasad which led him to burn himself alive to follow Karna and the violent death of Madanpala, the brother of queen Oodayamati-mother of Karna may be connected with the intrigues and struggles for succession.[25] It is evident that the period of regency of Mynul Devi was difficult one and she executed her duties excellently and exhibited her rare courage. It was during her regency that the two reserviors were constructed as those received names after her–Meenula Sur at Veerugam and Monsur at Dholka.[26] The most important act on the part of Mynul Devi as a regent was the remission of the tax at Bahuloda on the pilgrims going to Somanatha. The tax yielded 72 lakh rupakas to the treasury. In *Rāsmala* an interesting story has been related wherein Mynul Devi by remitting the tax fulfills her vow of the previous birth.[27]

Conclusion :

From the foregoing discussion we may draw the following conclusions :

A. The instances of regency especially of queens assuming charge of administration are very few. These instances occurred when the ministers did not find better alternatives.

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
25. *P. C.* 81-82.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
27. A. K. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

B. The valiant regent queens were princesses from South India where girls were provided education in statecraft and women rulers were equally popular at needy hours.

C. The regent queens were not passive participants, they remained active to ward off internal as well as external dangers—Naikidevi defeating the Mlecchas and Mynul Devi as well as Karpurdevi overpowering the internal troubles of succession.

D. The regent queens are not provided due credit for their excellent administration in the annals of contemporary history due to the tradition favouring male monarchs.

E. The regent queens remained busy in welfare works of the state.

A GUPTA TERRACOTTA OF GAṄGĀ FROM HARYANA

DEVENDRA HANDA

Chandigarh

The *Śālabhañjkā* motif, originally denoting a sport came to denote later the event of the birth of the Buddha. The posture was liked so much so that in Gupta period, it was changed into a charming art motif with additional sobriety and modesty. In present paper, the author has given details about a terracotta from Kariwala near Sirsa in Haryana in which the goddess Gaṅgā with two other females (Yamunā and Sarasvatī ?) is depicted in *Śālabhañjikā* posture which also shows the popularity of this motif.

'*Śālabhañjikā*' is an important motif in Indian art. Literally meaning 'a lady breaking a *Śāla* tree', the term originally denoted a sport (*krīḍā*) but subsequently came to be used figuratively in the sense of a festival (*parva*).[1] The event of Buddha's miraculous birth when Māyādevī grasped the branch of a *Śāla* tree in the Lumbinīvana provided it an aura of sanctity and the Hīnayānists began depicting the *Śālakrīḍā* of Mahāmāyā to represent the amazing birth of the Buddha.[2] It, however, did not take long to transmute

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1. Udai Narain Roy, *Śālabhañjikā*, Allahabad, 1979. pp. 1-11.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

into a lovely art-motif representing a charming damsel bending the bough of a *Śāla* tree with one hand and standing akimbo and cross-legged under it as can be found at Sanchi, Bharhut, Mathura, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Sometimes the charmingly beautiful scantily dressed damsel is shown as standing on a vehicle such as Yakṣa, *haṃsa* 'swan', *makara* 'crocodile' *gaja* 'elephant', *praphulla padma* 'full blown lotus', *surā pātra* 'wine pot', etc.[3]

A highly developed cultural taste and aesthetic standard led the Gupta artist convert the sensuous and voluptuous *Śālabhañjikās* with diaphanous drapery into modest and sober but beautiful and charming figures which also paved the way for the anthropomorphic form of the river goddess Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[4] A terracotta from Kariwala near Sirsa in Haryana (Pl. I)[5] illustrates this point beautifully.

The river goddess Gaṅgā attended by two female figures stands in the centre in *dvibhaṅga* holding with her left hand the branch of the *Śāla* tree which covers her back and also canopies her. The right hand is broken. The plaque is not in a good state of preservation. Discular ear ornament bearing lotus petal motif (simulating a spoked wheel) and the lower garment with multiple pleats indicated by sharp

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3. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. Catherine Glynn (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, Vol. V, pp. 16-26) thinks that the Yakshi figures standing on *makara* must have been the prototypes of the later Gaṅgā images.

4. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

5. I am thankful to the Director, Department of Archaeology & Museums, Haryana for the accompanying photograph.

incised lines can, however, be seen on her person clearly. She bears *dhammilla* type of hair—coiffure and an oval plain gloriole is carved behind her head. The breasts are damaged but their rotundity can still be made out from what remains. The slender waist, slightly expanding pelvis and long tapering legs add to the grace of the figure. It must have borne a beautiful facial expression which can only be guessed now because of the indifferent state of preservation. The right foot of the goddess is placed in *sama* pose while the left is slightly splayed out. *Makara,* the vehicle of the goddess, can be seen behind her feet with a swirling tail but in a much mutilated condition.

On the proper right of the goddess stands a female, wearing similar dress and ornaments, slightly turned towards her, with both hands damaged and all details lost. The other female figure to the left of the river goddess, however, is comparatively better preserved though even she has lost her hands. Her face, too, is mutilated. The *dhammilla* hair-coiffure, circular ornament in the left ear and lower garment with incised folds match well with the dress and ornamentation of the river goddess. A beautifully bedecked pot probably hung by a string in her left hand,[6] round rotund breasts, slightly enlarged belly (as if she be pregnant)[7] and knees bent outwards provide a distinctiveness to this

6. In a nativity scene of the Gāndhāra art also an attendant of Śālabhañjikā Māyā is depicted as standing in an analogous pose and holding a similar pot in her left hand (Roy, *op. cit.,* Fig. 4).

7. For a similar figure accompanying Gaṅgā, see C. Sivaramamurti, *The Art Of India,* New York, 1977, Fig. 35 representing Gaṅgā (Vākāṭaka, 5th century A.D.) on the exterior of Rāmeśvara cave at Ellora.

figure. Do the accompanying figures represent Yamunā and Sarasvatī? We are not sure, but there is little doubt that the central figure imitating a *Śālabhañjikā* is that of Gaṅgā. The aureole and the crocodile behind her head and feet provide the desired evidence for proper identification which is also confirmed by the much mutilated inscription on the pedestal of which 'Gaṅgā pratimā' can still be made out. Both, the style of the image and the palaeography of the extant letters, indicate it to be a work of the Gupta period.

Baked red, the terracotta image measures 46×29 cm. and may have adorned, as can be judged from its size, some Gupta brick temple at Kariwala which unfortunately is completely lost now.

THE COPPER HOARD IMPLEMENTS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY[1]

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The author proposes to present through this paper a typological analysis of the copper hoard implements preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Introduction :

Eversince the first copper hoard was discovered in 1822, a large number of copper hoard objects have been reported from the different parts of the country. These discoveries have shown that the Copper Hoard Culture once flourished over a vast stretch of the Northern, Eastern and Central India. The scholars have variously attributed the authorship of this culture to the Indo-Aryans,[2] the Harappan

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1. The paper was originally presented in a briefer form before the 17th Session of the Indian Archaeological Society held at National Museum, New Delhi from 3rd-6th January 1986.

2. R. van Heine-Geldern, 'Archaeological Traces of Vedic Aryans', *Journal of the Oriental Society of Oriental Art*, IV. 1936, pp. 87-113.

refugees,[3] the Proto-Australoid tribes[4] and the Asuras of the Eastern India.[5]

These objects are mostly housed in different museums in India and abroad. The National Museum, New Delhi has also got a rich collection of the copper hoard implements from different parts of the Northern India. Whereas some of the copper hoard objects preserved in this Museum have already been noticed by the scholars,[6] the entire collection has yet to be properly evaluated.

Tool Typology :

The various tool-types are described below :—

I. Flat Celt. The 15 flat celts are divisible into the following sub-types :—

Sub-type I-A. Large flat celts with tapering sides, a splayed out semi-circular cutting edge and a straight butt-end. Similar celts have also been discovered at Bithur[7] and Hardi.[8] One example (Museum No. 75.159) bears round indentation marks near the butt-end. Such marks have also

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3. Stuart Piggott, *prehistoric India*, Harmondsworth, 1950, p. 238.

4. B. B. Lal, 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem', *Ancient India*, 7, 1951, pp. 24-25

5. P. L. Gupta, 'Copper Hoards in India', Paper presented before XXVIII International Orientalists Congress, Canberra. 1971.

6. *Indian Archaeology*, 1966-67—*A Review*, p. 81 ; S. P. Gupta. 'Further Copper Hoards : A Reassessment in the light of new evidence', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, 51, 1965, pp. 1-7.

7. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 24, fig. 1-7.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 27, fig. 2, 4.

been noticed on celts from Kayatha, Navdatoli, Ganeshwar and various sites in Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar Pradesh.[9] : (2).

Sub-type I-B. Large flat celts with tapering sides, a semi-circular cutting edge and a slightly rounded butt-end. : (3).

Sub-type I-C. Small flat celt with tapering sides, a semi-circular cutting edge and a slightly rounded butt-end. It is unique in respect that a leaf motif is finely engraved on it. : (1).

Sub-type I-D. Small flat celt with tapering sides, a straight cutting edge and butt-end. : (1).

Sub-type I-E. Small flat celt with tapering sides, a straight cutting edge and a slightly rounded butt-end. The edge is broken at one end. It recalls a similar celt from Majhadpur.[10] : (1).

Sub-type I-F. Large flat celt with parallel sides, a semi-circular cutting edge and a straight butt-end which is slightly damaged. : (1).

Sub-type I-G. Large flat celt with parallel sides, a straight cutting edge and butt-end. : (1).

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9. K. K. Thaplyal and S. P. Shukla, 'Copper Celts with Circular Depressions : Some observations', in U. V. Singh (ed.). '*Archaeological Congress and Seminar Papers*', *Kurukshetra,* 1976, pp. 98-101 ; R. C. Agrawal, 'Fresh Light on Ochre Coloured Pottery from Rajasthan', *Madhu* : *Recent Researches in Indian Archaeology and Art History*', Delhi, 1981, p. 79.

10. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 29, fig. 4, 4.

Sub-type I-H. Small flat celts with parallel sides, a straight cutting edge and butt-end. : (3).

Sub-type I-I. Small flat celt with slightly concave sides, a semi-circular cutting edge and a straight butt-end. It resembles a similar celt from Pondi.[11] : (1).

Fragments. There are two fragmentary celts also in the collection. : (2).

II. Shouldered Celt. The 6 shouldered celts fall into the following sub-types :—

Sub-type II-A. Large shouldered celts with parallel sides, a splayed out cutting edge and a straight butt-end. : (3).

Sub-type II-B. Small shouldered celts with parallel sides, a splayed out cutting edge and a straight butt-end. : (2).

Sub-type II-C. Large shouldered celts with slightly tapering sides, a splayed out cutting edge and a straight butt-end. : (1).

III. Harpoon. The 7 harpoons in the collection are divisible into the following sub-types :—

Sub-type III-A. Harpoons with a strong medial rib and a long tapering blade. The middle part has two to four pairs of finely pointed incurved barbs of cylindrical section. At the junction of the barbed portion and the tang there is a pair of lugs of which one is perforated. They appear to have been cast in a double mould. It is similar to the example from Bisauli.[12] : (5).

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11. *Ibid.*, p. 24, fig. 2, 6.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 25, fig. 2, 3.

Sub-type III-B. Harpoon with a medial rib, a long tapering blade and four pairs of straight barbs of cylindrical section. One of the lower most barbs is damaged. At the junction of the barbed portion and the tang there is a pair of lugs of which one is perforated. It appears to have been cast in a double mould. This harpoon represents a new sub-variety. : (1).

Sub-type III-C. Harpoon with a medial rib and three pairs of wide oblique barbs which are flat outward indentations. At the junction of the barbed portion and the tang there is a pair of lugs of which one is perforated. With a pigmy tapering blade, it was perhaps obtained by trimming a plain spear-head. It bears some resemblance with the harpoon from Sarthauli,[13] with the difference that instead of having pointed barbs, it has wide sharp barbs. Moreover, it bears no hook. Thus it represents a new sub-type. : (1).

IV. Spear-Head. The 4 spear-heads in the collection fall into the following sub-types :—

Sub-type IV-A. Large spear-head with a strong medial rib and a long tapering blade. While the tang is partly lost, the blade is broken into three pieces. It resembles similar swords from Sarthauli.[14] : (1).

Sub-type IV-B. Small spear-heads with a strong medial rib and a short leaf-shaped blade. In two cases while the tang is completely (Museum No. 67.139) or partly (Museum No. 85.173) lost, the tip of the blade is bent. In another example the tip of the blade is broken (Museum

13. *Ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 4, 8.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 4, 1.

No. 85.180). One similar sword is also known from Sarthauli.[15] : (3).

V. Antennae Sword. The 6 antennae swords are divisible into the following sub-types :—

Sub-type V-A. Large swords with a strong medial rib, a long narrow tapering blade and a hilt having pointed antennae ends. They may be compared with similar swords from Fatehgarh.[16] The cutting edge is corroded. : (2).

Sub-type V-B. Small sword with a strong medial rib, a leaf shaped blade with pointed antennae ends. : (1).

Sub-type V-C. Large sword with a strong medial rib, a long tapering blade and a hilt with knobbed antennae ends. It recalls the antennae sword recently discovered at Shavinipatti in Tāmil Nāḍu.[17] : (1).

Sub-type V-D. Large sword with a strong medial rib and a long narrow tapering blade. Since one Museum No. 66.28 or both (Museum No. 85.176) the antennae ends of the swords are lost, the base of the blade is provided with a pair of perforations for hafting. : (2).

Fragments. There are 2 fragmentary swords also in the collection. : (2).

VI. Hatchet. The 3 hatchets are distinguished by a prominent cresentic cutting edge with out-stretched wings and parallel sided straight butt-end. In two cases (Museum

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15. *Ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 4, 5.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 35, fig. 7.

17. N. Devasahayam, 'The Unearthed Copper Antennae Sword of Tamil Nadu', *Purātattva*, 12, 1980-81, pp. 128, pl. V, II.

Nos. 85.179/1 ; 85.179/2) the out-stretched wings are more or less damaged. One similar hatchet (*paraśu*) is known from Sarthauli.[18] : (3).

VII. Bar Celt. This tool-type is represented by a single piece having long parallel sides, a straight cutting edge and butt-end. : (1).

VIII. Anthropomorph. The solitary anthropomorph in the collection has a semi-circular head outlined by a prominent ridge, sharpened incurved arms and wide stretched broken legs. Similar figures have also been discovered at Bisauli[19] and Sheorajpur.[20] : (1).

In addition to the tool-types described above, there are two hilted swords (Museum Nos. 85.171 and 85.172) and a pair of spatulae (Museum Nos. 85.180/1 ; 85.181/2) also in the collection. Since these tool-types have never been noticed in any copper hoard, they cannot be assigned to the Copper Hoard tool-complex of the protohistoric times. (See Table).

Conclusion :

Of the aforesaid tool-types, the flat celts, shouldered celts and bar celts appear to have been fashioned after their Neolithic proto-types. While the flat celts were probably employed for felling trees etc., the shouldered celts, hatchets, harpoons, spear-heads and antennae swords served as hunting-*cum*-war weapons. The bar celts were possibly used as

18. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 29, fig. 4, 6.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 24, fig. 2, 1.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 28, fig. 4, 2.

ploughshares. The anthropomorphs most probably served as images.[21]

Excepting four antennae swords (Museum Nos. 70.60 : 70.61 ; 70.62 and 70.63) which hail from Gujrat, the remaining objects were probably recovered from the different sites in Uttar Pradesh. If their find-spots are intensively explored they may yield the associated pottery and other cultural material also. The chemical, spectrometric and metallographic studies of the collection are likely to provide valuable information pertaining to the composition of the metal, the source of raw material and the state of copper technology. Since this study is primarily based on the photographic evidence of the copper hoard implements lodged in the National Museum, there is a great possibility that their physical examination may supply further information on the subject.[22]

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21. V. A. Smith, 'The Copper Age the Prehistoric Implements of India', *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV, 1905, v. 238.

22. My thanks are due to Shri D. P. Sharma for showing me the photographs of the copper hoard implements discussed here, and also to Shri V. D. Misra for going through the paper.

TABLE

Copper Hoard Tool-Type	*Sub-Type*	*Number of Tools*	*Museum Number*
1	2	3	4
I. Flat Celt	I-A	2	65.257 ; 75.159
	I-B	3	65.258 ; 75.155 ; 85.178/2
	I-C	1	75.154
	I-D	1	66.31
	I-E	1	71.220
	I-F	1	71.221
	I-G	1	75.156
	I-H	3	71.219 ; 71.222 ; 71.223
	I-I	1	85.21
(Fragments)	–	2	85.183/A ; 183/B
II. Shouldered Celts	II-A	3	66.30 ; 85.20 ; 85.178/3
	II-B	2	75.157; 85.178/1
	II-C	1	75.158
III. Harpoon	III-A	5	66.29 ; 67.140 ; 84.387 ; 84.388 ; 85.177
	III-B	1	65.256
	III-C	1	67.138
IV. Spear Head	IV-A	1	75.152
	IV-B	3	67.139 ; 85.173 ; 85.180

1		2	3	4
V.	Antennae			
	Sword	V-A	2	70.60; 70.63;
		V-B	1	70.62
		V-C	1	70.61
		V-D	2	66.28; 85.176
	(Fragments)	–	2	85.174; 85.175
VI.	Hatchet	–	3	75.153; 85.179/1; 85.179/2
VII.	Bar Celt	–	1	65.259
VIII.	Anthropomorph	–	1	66.188
	Total	–	46	

YĀSKA ON VEDIC ACCENT

DR. MAAN SINGH
Simla

For understanding the true sense of a word in a *mantra*, the knowledge of Vedic *accent* is the most important. Yāska was fully confident, that one, ignorant of the *meaning*, cannot determine the *accent* and the grammatical formation of a word (*Saṃskāra*). It may be put in reverse also, that the knowledge of the *accent* and the grammatical formation of a word determines the *meaning*. His treatment of *Nipātās*, e. g., *tva, cit, sama*, etc., and the compound *indraśatruḥ* (Rv.1.32.10) speak of his intimate knowledge of Vedic accent.

Yāska, the illustrious author of the *Nirukta* (7th or 8th century B.C.), was fully cognizant of Vedic accent. He makes use of the term *svara*,[1] 'accent'; and of its three major kinds, specifically mentions the acute (*udātta*)[2] and the grave (*anudātta*).[3] According to him, a person who is

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1. *Nirukta*, I.12:

तद्यत्र स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ स्यातां संविज्ञातानि तानि; I. 15 : अर्थमप्रतियतो नात्यन्तं स्वरसंस्कारोद्देशः; II. 1 : तद्येषु पदेषु स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन गुणेनान्वितौ स्यातां तथा तानि निर्ब्रूयात् ।

2. *Ibid.*, VI.29.

3. *Ibid.*, I.7, 8; V.5, 23 (two times).

ignorant of the meaning cannot determine the accent (*svara*) and the grammatical formation (*saṃskāra*) of a word.[4] Yāska is thus aware of the fact that the meaning determines the accent as well as the grammatical formation of a word ; or that the knowledge of the accent and the grammatical formation of a word is essential for determining its meaning. It highlights the importance of the knowledge of accent for understanding the true sense of a word in a *mantra*. The knowledge of the grammatical formation of a word is essential for comprehending its accent.

Yāska hints at the accent of the following words in specific terms :

1. In course of his treatment of the particles (*nipātas*), he takes up *tva* for discussion and states that it is used in the sense of restriction (*vinigraha*), is a pronoun instead of a particle and has the grave accent : *tva iti vinigrahārthīyaṃ sarvanāmā'nudāttam* (*Nirukta*, I.7). He indicates that others understand it as synonymous with *ardha*, 'half' : *ardhanāme 'ty eke* (*ibid.*, I.8).[5] Criticizing the Ācāryas who regard it as a particle,[6] he demonstrates, by citing examples from the *Ṛgveda* (X.71.11, 5, 4, 7), that it is declined in various cases (*vibhaktis*) as a pronoun, while had it been a particle, it should have remained undeclined. Secondly, in the capacity of a particle it should not have taken the grave accent ; for particles take the acute accent.[7] *Tva* exceptionally takes the grave accent along with *tvat*, *sama*

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4. *Ibid.*, I.15 : अर्थमप्रतियतो नात्यन्तं स्वरसंस्कारोद्देशः ।

5. Cf. *ibid.*, III.20 : त्वो नेम इत्यर्धस्य ।

6. *Ibid.*, I.8 : निपात इत्येके ।

7. *Phiṭ-Sūtras*, IV.80 : निपाता आद्युदात्ताः ।

and *sima*,[8] though the pronouns normally have the acute accent on the first vowel.[9] In unequivocal terms he tells us that a particle cannot take the grave accent : *nipāta ity eke. tat katham anudāttaprakṛti nāma syāt?* (*Nirukta*, I.8).

2. *Cit*, a particle with connotations such as honour, similitude, censure[10] takes the grave accent : *cid iti nipāto 'nudāttaḥ* (*Nirukta*, V.5).[11] For example,

सद्यश्चिद्य शवसा पञ्च कृष्टीः ।

(*Ṛgveda*, X.178.3)

3. When used as a synonym of an animal, *cit* has the acute accent : *athā 'pi paśunāme 'ha bhavati, udāttaḥ* (*Nirukta*, V.5).[12] For example,

चिदसि मनोसि

(*Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, IV.19)

4. *Sama*, having the sense of comprehensiveness (*parigraha*; i. e., all) is a pronoun and has the grave accent : *samam iti parigrahārthīyaṃ sarvanāmā'nudāttam* (*Nirukta*, V.22), e. g.,

मा नः समस्य दूढ्य १ः परिद्वेषसो अंहुति । ऊर्मिर्न नावमा वधीत् ॥

(*Ṛgveda*, VIII.75.9)

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8. *Ibid.*, IV.78 : त्वत्वसमसिमेत्यनुच्चानि । In the *Atharvaveda*, however, *sima* takes the acute accent on its final vowel. Cf. *ibid.*, IV.79 : सिमस्याथर्वणेऽन्त उदात्तः ।

9. *Ibid.*, II.29 : स्वाङ्गशिटामदन्तानाम् (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī* : शिट् सर्वनाम ।

10. Vide *Nirukta*, I.2.

11. Cf. *Phiṭ-Sūtras*, IV.84 : चादयोऽनुदात्ताः । Vide also Pāṇini : *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, I.4.57 : चादयोऽसत्त्वे ।

12. Cf. *Phiṭ-Sūtras*, I.1 : फिषोऽन्त उदात्तः (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī* : प्रातिपदिकं फिट्).

That it is a pronoun, and not a particle, is demonstrated by Yāska by examples from the *Ṛgveda* (VIII.21.8, 39.1 ; V.24.3 : *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, III.26) which clearly show its declensions in different cases, while as a particle it should not have been declined at all : *tat katham anudātta-prakṛti nāma syāt ? dṛṣṭavyayaṃ tu bhavati* (*Nirukta*, V.23). Like the pronouns *tva*, *tvat* and *sima*, it embraces the grave accent.[13]

5. Yāska criticizes Śākalya who splits *vāyó* figuring in *váne ná vāyó nyádhāyi cākán* (*Ṛgveda*, X.29.1) into two independent words *vā* and *yáḥ* ; for in that case the verbal form *nyádhāyi* ought to have taken the acute accent,[14] whereas it has, on the contrary, the grave accent.[15] Moreover, the meaning would not be well conveyed, as then *vā* would have no sense : *ve 'ti ya iti ca cakāra Śākalya udāttaṃ tu evam ākhyātam abhaviṣyad asusamāptaś cā'rthaḥ* (*Nirukta*, VI.29). It should, therefore, be taken as a single word, which does not admit of any split.

In addition to the above, Yāska's explanation of the compound *Indráśatruḥ* figuring in :

अतिष्ठन्तीनामनिवेशनानां काष्ठानां मध्ये निहितं शरीरम् ॥
वृत्रस्य निण्यं वि चरन्त्यापो दीर्घं तम आशयदिन्द्रशत्रुः ॥
(*Ṛgveda*, I.32.10)

as *Indraśatrur Indro 'sya śamayitā vā, śātayitā vā, tasmād Indraśatruḥ* (*Nirukta*, II.16) speaks volumes of his intimate

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13. *Ibid.*, IV.78 : त्वत्त्वसमसिमेत्यनुच्चानि ।

14. For the verbal form occurring after *yat* has the grave accent only optionally. Cf. Pāṇini, *op. cit.*, VIII.1.66 : यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम् (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī* : यत्र पदे यच्छब्दस्ततः परं तिङन्तं वानुदात्तम्).

15. तिङ्ङतिङः अतिङन्तात्परं तिङन्तं निहन्यते).

knowledge of Vedic accent. As the interpretation shows, he takes it as a *bahuvrīhi*-compound, and not as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. As a *bahuvrīhi*-compound it has the acute accent on the first vowel of its first member,[16] while as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* (Indrasya śatruḥ) it would have the acute accent on the last vowel of the second member.[17] In the text quoted above, *Índráśatruḥ* takes the acute accent on the first vowel of its first member and is thus undoubtedly a *bahuvrīhi*-compound, which means 'one whose destroyer is Indra', and not 'the destroyer of Indra'. Thus the above explanation offered by Yāska for the above compound stands a clear testimony to his close study of Vedic accent.

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16. Cf. Pāṇini, *op. cit.*, VI.2.1 : बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ; VI.1.158 : अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ।

17. Cf. *ibid.*, VI.1.223 : समासस्य (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī* : अन्त उदात्त :स्यात्).

A NOTE ON FOLK-MUSIC IN ANCIENT INDIA

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In India, the folk-music, relating to different events and occasions of personal and social life is characterized by the simplicity of notes. freedom of singing, importance of words and sense and fewer accompaniments. *Sāman* is said to be the source of *gāndharva* and *gāndharva* that of the *gāna*. The *grāmageya sāman* must have had folk-connections. The *Śrautasūtras* often refer to folk songs. Special *sāman* melodies were sung during *Somayāga* as well as during family rites. In ancient India, folk-music contributed much to the growth of classical music.

Attempts have been made in different contexts to distinguish elements of folk-culture within the Ancient Indian tradition. In the sphere of art, for example, the distinction which Marshall had proposed between indigenous and foreign-inspired Mauryan sculpture was explained by Coomaraswamy as a distinction between folk art and court-art.[1]

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1. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 8-16.

The difficulties of reconstructing ancient Indian music and distinguishing its folk origins from its developed classical traditions are much greater because of the perishable nature of music. Here, we are at the mercy of either indirect descriptions and allusions or of musicological texts. In the former type of descriptions the distinction between folk music and classical music is rarely made explicit.[2] In the latter type of description, it is classical music that is under consideration. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that folk-music entered as an element into the making of the classical structure of Indian music, and, in this respect it played a recurrent role in the different phases of its history.

We may begin by mentioning some of the general characteristics of folk-music. In the first place, it is characterised by relative simplicity, not only in terms of the fewer notes used, but also in terms of the simpler combinations. Its simplicity enabled it to be performed by untutored participants. The music here tends to be subordinate to the words and sense of the song. Freedom and improvisation are also marked characteristics of folk-singing where the accompaniments are also simple. A peculiar feature of folk-music is that very often the song begins at a high note and runs through descending notes. These songs are mostly functional, being part of a recognised social occasion and often have the sanctity of a ceremonial rite. Such are, for instance, songs which accompany the events of the life cycle—birth, initiation, marriage, death. Similarly, the agricultural songs which accompany planting, transplanting, harvesting, etc., have an element of ritual associated with them.

2. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV.20. For example :
"ikṣucchāyaniṣādinyaḥ . . .śāligopyo jaguryaśaḥ".

Folk-music is also frequently inter-twined with dance and mime. In short, folk-music does not emphasize music in its purity, but is rather a combination of many things, all together constituting a social occasion which employes music as one of its voices.

Abhinava Gupta has summed up the history of Indian music by saying—From *sāman came Gāndharva* and from Gāndharva the Gāna—*Gāndharvaṃ hi sāmabhyastasmādbhavam gānam.*[3] Now, *sāman* means a melody in which a Vedic Verse was sung. The nature of *sāman* may be gathered clearly from the explanation of Sāyaṇa.

Sāmaśabdavācyasya Gānasya svarūpam Ṛgakṣareśu kruṣṭādibhiḥ.

Saptabhiḥ svarairakṣarādibhiśca niṣpadyate.[4]

It was generally sung on the occasion of a *Soma* sacrifice. *Soma* was an exhilerating drink and its preparation and offering constituted a festive albeit holy occasion. Amongst the earliest recorded instances of such festive occasions may be noticed the famous *Mahāvrata* ceremony. Maidens bearing pitchers did a circular dance, the foot movement of which was in concordance with the rhythm of the song known as *gāthās*. Such folk-songs are mentioned by name in the *Śrauta Sūtras—Hillikā, Himbinī, Hastāvārā, Saṃvat-saragāthā Jhillukā*, etc.

Atraitā dāsakumārya udakumbhānadhinidhāya Triḥ pradakṣiṇaṃ mārjālīyaṃ parinṛtyanti dakṣiṇanpado nighnantīridammadhu gāyanti. Hillikāṃ dve gāyetāṃ

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3. *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Nāṭyaśāstra* (GOS ed.) 28, 9-10.

4. Introduction to Commentary on *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*.

Himbinīṃ dve Hastāvāraṃ dve hai...haimahūs idam-madhu hillahillivati sarvāsām Ṛganteṣu.[5]

In the *Yajurveda* are mentioned by name some particular *Sāman* medlodies which are connected with seasons :

Rathantaraṃ Sāma trivṛtstomo vasantartuḥ...

Bṛhatsāma pañcadaśastomo grīṣmartuḥ...

Vairūpaṃ Sāma saptadaśastomo varṣā ṛtuḥ...

Śākvararaivate Sāmanī...hemanta Śiśirāv ṛtū.[6]

In the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* there is reference to Sāman singing during the *Sīmantonnayana* ceremony. The husband gives instructions to the *Vīṇā* players to play and sing the songs of king-Soma.[7] *Bharuṇḍa Sāman* was sung during oblations to the manes. The *Yamasūkta* in the *Ṛgveda* refers to *Sāman* singing during last rites.

Yaṃ kumāra prāvartayo rathaṃ viprebhyaspari
taṃ sāmānu prāvartata samito nāvyāhitam.[8]

We hear of *Grāma-Geya* variety of Sāman music to be sung in the villages as distinct from *Araṇya-Geya* to be sung in the forests. It has rightly been surmised that *Grāma-Geya Sāman* conceivably had folk connections. Much of the *Sāman* recitation has a relatively simple appearance in terms of the musical notes and the patterns which it used. In fact, a verse quoted in *Bṛhaddesī* seems to suggest that originally only three notes were used in *Sāman* singing.

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5. *Lāṭyāyana śrauta sūtra*, 4.3, 17-23 ; Cf. *Kātyāyana śrauta sūtra*, 13.3.20-22 ; Cf. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, 7.5, 10.

6. Cf. *Śukla Yajurveda saṃhitā*, 10.10.

7. *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya sūtra*, 1.22.

Ekasvaraprayogo hi ārcikaḥ so'bhidhīyate
gāthiko dvisvaro jñeyaḥ trisvaraścaiva sāmikaḥ.[9]

It does relate to the joyous occasion of preparing *Soma* and was generally sung in a chorus. Thus, although, some aspects of *Sāman* music are reminiscent of folk-music, nevertheless, the developed music of the Vedic age was a most elaborate one which used a variety of musical instruments, the full octave and as many as three *grāmas*.

As already mentioned, according to Abhinavagupta, from *Sāman* came *Gāndharva*. The *Gāndharva* form was apparently intermediate between later *Sāman* forms and the *Gāna* system described in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. Though influenced by *Sāman, Gāndharva* was distinct from it. It is possible that part of the deviation might have been due to some non-*sāmic* influence on *Gāndharva*. Abhinava has enunciated two other factors besides *Sāman* songs as sources of *Gāndharva*: the *audumbarī vīṇā* and the flute as played in the tradition of Nārada.

The Vedic people took a keen delight in music and a variety of instruments were in vogue. Many *vīṇās* were known of which the *audumbarī* was the most popular. Shri Ram Krishna Kavi has opined that "a careful examination of Vedic rites and *Śikṣās* thereupon drives one to the irresistible conclusion that the origin of Indian music lay in certain rites where the priest and performer chant some *gāthās* alternatively while the wife (*yajamānapatnī*) plays on the *vīṇā* and the closing of the sacrifice was enjoined with the conduct of a peculiar dance. The kind of *vīṇā* mentioned

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8. *Ṛgveda saṃhitā*, 10, 135.4.
9. *Bṛhaddeśī* (Trivandrums ed.), p. 17.

for the above purpose is called the *piccholā* and in another place, it is called *audumbarī*.[10] Abhinava mentions the *audumbarī* in connection with the rites of the *Mahāvrata*.

Some influence of regional or folk factors in the *jātis*, is, in fact, suggested by their names. Thus, the musical idiom current in the north of India seems to have contributed in giving the *jātī ṣaḍjodīcyavā* its form (*udīcya*—country to the north of *Sarasvatī*, i. e., the Northern region). Regarding *ṣaḍjodīcyavā*, Abhinava remarks :

> *Udīcyāḥ prayoktāro bahulena santyasyāmityudīcyā. Vānti gacchantīti udīcyepi ca dṛṣyate.*[11]

In this context he specifically mentions the names of some regional *rāgas* :

> *Gītaṃ ca deśanāmadheyairbāhulyādabhi-rucitatvāpekṣayā vyapadiśyata eva Ṭakkarāgo Mālavapancamī Gauḍī Mālavī Kāmbhojītyādi.*[12]

A parallel can be seen in current *rāgas* incorporating stylised folk idioms such as *Sindh Bhairavī, Ahīra Bhairva, Bangal Bhairava, Manda,* etc. Two other *jātis* evince a northern influence—the *Madhyamodīcyavā,* the *Gandhārodīcyavā.* Another *jāti* the *Āndhri* may have been influenced by local forms popular in the Andhra region.

Accounts of *sāman* singing evince no trace of *tāla.* It is likely that *tāla,* rendered as a rich structural pattern with its own independent forms was absent from *sāman* music (as is

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10. Quoted in *Bhāratīya sangīter Itihāsa* (Bengali) by Swami Prajnananda, Vol. 1, p. 199.

11. *Abhinavabhāratī* on *Nāṭyaśāstra* (GOS ed.) 26, 106-9.

12. *Ibid., l. c.*

also testified by the fact that none of the existing *sāman śākhās* have anything like a *tāla* accompaniment with the *sāman* chant) but evolved in the popular percussion music of Vedic times. This then, was passed on as a legacy to *Gāndharva* and through it to subsequent art forms of Indian music.

Kālidāsa in the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* refers to a song by the *Naṭī* on the occasion of summer and calls it *Gītarāga*.[13] This brings us to the new kind of music which Abhinava calls *gāna* distinguishing it from *gāndharva*. There was quite a difference between the two in all their three constituent factors—*svara, tāla, pada*. The distinction lay essentially in the change of purpose, manner and occasion.

The ultimate purpose of *gāndharva* was to bring about spiritual merit (*adṛṣṭa*), whereas in *gāna* it was merely to please the audience. Again, the manner of *gāna* was much freer and used on non-ritualistic occasions. *Gāna* included forms like *grāma-rāga, Rāgas, Bhāṣā, Vibhāṣā,* etc. These derivate forms were born through mixing and combining elements taken from two or more *jātis* in various ways, and were hence called hybrid or *saṇkara* forms. These forms when moulded to the theatrical context were called *gāna*. All possible musical scales and chromatic tonal formations were permitted in it ; even quarter-tones or notes with a single *śruti* interval were part of the normal fare. *Tāla,* too, in *gāna* was a flexible timing. Compared to *gāndharva*, *gāna* was thus distinctly more popular and freer. This change in spirit and style may possibly be attributed to the influence of folk tunes and theatrical songs.

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13. *Abhijñānaśākuntalam, Prastāvanā* ; "*Tavāsmi gītarāgeṇa.*

while *gāndharva* represented the classical form folk-music continued alongside and continued its perennial role of supporting festive occasions. The *Harivamśa* mentions festivals in which men and women assembled together for song and dance. In this connection is mentioned *chālikya*—a style of singing current amongst the cowherds. This was composed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa and was the most popular form in chorus singing.

Ājñāpayāmāsa tataḥ sa tasyāṃ
niśi prahṛṣṭo bhagvānupendraḥ

Chālikyageyaṃ bahusannidhānām
yadeva gāndharvamudāharanti

Jagrāha vīṇāmatha Nāradastu
ṣaḍgrāmarāgādisamādhiyuktāṃ

Hallīsakam tu svayameva kṛṣṇaḥ
svayaṃsaghoṣaṃ naradevapārthaḥ.[14]

This *chālikya* was sung in various *grāma-rāgas*, adorned by *mūrchanās*, etc.:

Śakyaṃ na chālikyamṛte tapobhiḥ
sthāne vidhānānyatha mūrchanāsu

Ṣaḍgrāmarāgeṣu ca tatra kāryaṃ
tasyaikadeśāvayavena rājan

Leśābhidhānaṃ sukumārajātiṃ
niṣṭhāṃ suduhkhena naraḥ prayānti.[15]

15. *Ibid.*, 89, 91.
14. *Harivaṃśa*, 89, 67-8.

The *Kāmasūtra*[16] mentions *Chalitaka* as one of the 64 *kalās* so necessary for courtesans and maidens—*sampāṭhyaṃ mānasī kāvyakriyā, abhidhānakoṣaḥ, chandojñānaṃ, kriyākalāpaḥ, chalitakayogaḥ*.[16] In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Kālidāsa mentions *chalita* as a dance based on a particular song, danced only by a single dancer.[17]

Hallīsaka appears to have been the name of song-cum-dance form. It is said to be illustrated in the paintings of the *Bāgha*-caves. It may be recalled that it has been mentioned as one of the *uparūpakas*. Other *uparūpakas* of a similar kind included the *Rāsaka* which has been described as a cowherds' dance-song. Similarly, the *Rāgakāvya* was another form of *upa-rūpaka*. Bhāmaha mentions *Dvipadī*, *somya*, *Rāsaka* and *skandhaka*. Daṇḍī mentions *Lāsya*, *Chalika* and *Śamyā*.[18] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* has twelve varieties of *uparūpakas* which includes *Hallīsaka*, *Nartanaka*, *Rāsaka*, *Nāṭyarāsaka* and *carcarī*.[19]

In the *uparūpakas*, music and dance predominate. Many of them are dances accompanied with song and gestures. Their popular origin and role hardly admits of any doubts.

In course of time, with the efflorescence of *gāna* and its musicological elaboration, a difference came to be perceived between the classical and folk dimensions of music. This was labelled as the distinction between *Mārga* and *Deśī*. Defining *Deśī* music Mataṅga says :

16. *Kāmasūtra*, 3.16.

17. *Mālavikāgnimitram*, Act I.

18. *Daṇḍin*, *Kāvyādarśa*, 1.39.

19. V. Raghavan, Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 545ff.

Abalābālagopālaiḥ kṣitipālaiḥ nijecchayā
gīyate sānurāgeṇa svadeśe deśītyucyate
Nibaddhaścānibaddhaśca mārgo yaṃ dvividho mataḥ
ālāpādi-nibandho yaḥ sa ca mārgaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
Evaṃprakāro deśī yajjñātavyo gītakovidaiḥ
Evametan mayā proktaṃ deśya utpattilakṣaṇam.[20]

"That music which is sung by women, children, cow-herds and kings (or in other words, by the general populance) out of spontaneous inclination and desire, in the regions where these people dwell (*svadeśe*) is termed *deśī*. Its *path* (*mārga*) is two fold : regulated (*nibaddha*) and unregulated (*anibaddha*). That which is regulated through *ālāpa* etc., is called *mārga*. Such is *deśī* and it should be known (as such) by the experts in music. Thus I have related how *deśī* (forms) arise."

Śārṅgadeva right at the beginning of his work introduces a two-fold classification of musical forms, *mārga* and *deśī*, distinguishing them on the same lines as *Gāndharva* and *Gāna* :

Mārgo deśīti tad dvedhā tatra mārgaḥ sa ucyate
Yo mārgito viriñcyādyaiḥ prayukto Bharatādibhiḥ
devasya purataḥ śambhorniyatābhyudayapradaḥ
deśe deśe janānāṃ yadrucyā hṛdayarañjakaṃ
gītaṃ ca vādanaṃ nṛttaṃ taddeśītyabhidhīyate.[21]

"That (i. e., *saṅgīta*) is two fold : *mārga* and *deśī*. *Mārga* is that which has been discovered (or revealed—*mārgita*) by Brahma, etc., and was performed by Bharata and others before Lord Siva. *Mārga* certainly bestows

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20. *Bṛhaddeśī*, 13.15, quoted Lath, M. *A Study of Dattilam.*

21. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, 1.1.22-4.

spiritual well being. But that music—instrumental and vocal—and that dance, which delights people of different regions and is born of different aesthetic tastes is called *deśī*.

Mataṅga's notion of *deśī* is the same as that of Śārṅgadeva, but his notion of *mārga* clearly does not comply with what was *mārga* in the latter. *Mārga* according to Mataṅga is a name given to those *deśī* forms which were comparatively more regulated or rule-bound than the others.

Kallinātha has the most explicit definition of *mārga* vis-a-vis *deśī* :

Deśītvaṃ ca taddeśamanujamanorañjanaikaphalatvena kāmacārapravartitam.[22]

i. e., "those forms that are created in various areas and regions (of the country) for the pleasures of the populace are in the *deśī* state ; with this end in view their composition follows a free and a spontaneous course". He quotes an authority named Āñjaneya who has defined *deśī rāgas* as :

Yeṣāṃ śrutisvaragrāmajātyādiniyamo na hi
nānādeśagaticchāyā deśīrāgāstu te smṛtāḥ.[23]

"Those (*rāgas*) which are not governed by rules regarding *śruti, svara, grāma, jāti,* etc., and contains echoes of musical movements popular in regional (or folk) music of various areas are known as *deśī rāgas.*" Kallinatha adds, that like song forms, even instrumental music and dance. are known as *deśī* when they are composed on the basis of pure whim, without imperative rules to control them :

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22. Kallinātha, Commentary on *Saṅgītaratnākara, l. c.*

23. *Ibid., l. c.*

Evam vādyanṛttayorapi kāmacārapravartitayor deśitvama vagantavyam.[24]

We have, thus, seen that there was constant interaction between folk-music and classical music in ancient India. Folk-music was a constant element in folk culture, forming a perennial dimension of the festive and ritual round of social life. It served as the popular matrix of the more developed forms of music and even in its classical form gave it a diversity of local colour. As a consequence, a full appreciation of the social role of classical music will necessarily imply connecting it with its folk origins and elements. The fact is, that folk-music represents music in its social integrity whereas the intensive development of music in its purity leads to the elaboration of classical systems through the creative role of genius. The history of music may be thus, said to revolve between two poles, which may be described as folk-music and classical music.

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24. *Ibid., l. c.*

MOTHER GODDESS, YOGINĪS AND ŚAKTI WORSHIP

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The idea of mother goddess is very old in Indian tradition. This has been an interesting topic of research since long and the writer has given a thought provoking account of the subject in a very lucid manner.

In India the tradition of worshipping gods and goddesses dates back from times immemorial. The terracotta female figurines unearthed from the ruins of the Indus Valley Civilisation are popularly supposed to represent the Mother Goddess—the female deity *Śakti.* In a particular Harappan seal the Mother Goddess is shown standing under the bifurcated branches of a *pīpala* tree and a worshipper is shown bringing a goat, perhaps for sacrifice to the goddess for securing her boons or blessings. Several other female figurines of various types, both in shape and size, have been found at Nevasa and Inamgaon in N. W. Maharashtra. Inamgaon has also afforded a terracotta bull with a hole at its back. perhaps to hold a wooden piece which was fixed. with a similar blind hole in the navel of the nude headless

Mother Goddess, obviously enabling her to ride the bull (*Vṛṣabha-vāhinī*). The worship of the divine mother reveals that the people of this civilisation believed that female energy is the source of all creation. The Aryans of the early Vedic days worshipped different forces of Nature like Varuṇa (Sky), Savitā (Sun), Vāyu (Air), the Aśvin (the twin Physicians), the Marutas (Storm), Indra (Thunder), Agni (Fire), Uṣas (Dawn), etc. The *Uṣas,* was supposed to dispel darkness and illumine the earth and hence the preserver of health and life of all animate objects. Similarly the worship of divine mother is referred to in the *Ṛgveda* which calls Her by the names of *Aditi, Pṛthvī,* etc. The *Ṛgveda's* burial hymn mentions the Earth-goddess described as *Pṛthvīm mātaram* in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.* Likewise the *Kena Upaniṣad* represents *Brahmanya deva* appearing in the form of Umā-Haimavatī, the Shakti of Shiva. Thus Śakti worship is Vedic also and as Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji contends, 'the religion of the Indus people had in it the germs of Vedic Religion or Hinduism with which it is connected'.[1]

With the evolution of *Karmakāṇḍa* in the latter Vedic period the monotheistic character of the early Vedic religion changed into worship of individual gods and goddesses like Brahmā (the Creator), Viṣṇu (the Preserver), Rudra (the Destroyer), Mahākālī (the Mother Supreme), etc., and from Veda, Vedāṅga, Vedānta a host of religious scriptures called the 'Dharmaśāstras' were born in quick succession, leading to a very complicated system of religious practices called the *Saṃskāras.* With the emergence of the Purāṇic and Epic times the number of the individual gods and goddesses

1. Vide *Ancient India,* p. 44, 1st ed., 1956.

multiplied manyfold and made the men to think about the growing pantheism of the priests particularly in context with the socio-economic condition of its times. In the sixth century B.C. revolutionary thinkers like the Buddha and Mahāvīra were ushered in the country of Bihar which was then not thoroughly Aryanised. With leaps and bounds the whole country was swept away by the thought-ferment of the Jaina and Buddhist teachings. As time passed, the difference between Hinduism and Jainism became less prominent till at last Jainism became one of the many sects of Hinduism with not very different manners, customs and creeds in their religious following.[2]

When Tantrism came to the fore the number of Hindu gods and goddesses, it is said, swelled up to thirtythree crores with different nomenclatures in regard to their distinctions and details of worship. The Jainas, and to some less extent the Buddhists also, were not left uninfluenced by this deification of gods and goddesses. They accepted quite a few of the gods and goddesses enumerated in the Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Tāntrik texts and invented some more in accordance with their customs and traditions. Even today one comes across, throughout the length and breadth of the country, many such images, temples, sanctnaries, etc., and witnesses their colourful worship every now-and-then, signifying the deep-rooted impress of their super-natural powers on the public mind down the ages.

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2. It may be noted that the Buddhists made no such attempts to reconcile themselves with the Hindus and this is one of the chief reasons why Buddhism at length disappeared from the land of its birth.

In the beginning, the followers of Jaina Church worshipped their twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* but with the gradual spread of the Tāntrik faith, Hindu idols gained ground and found worshipful places in their temples, in the fulfilment of their worldly aspirations. This diversification of deification led to building up of a host of sacred literature and by the Middle Ages sixty-four *Yoginīs* and fifty-two *Vīras* and *Kṣetrapālas* came to be enshrined as the gods and goddesses among the Jainas also. Various names of these gods and goddesses are mentioned in the Tāntrik Texts, perhaps due to the different thought-feeling of their authors. When did the Jaina Church accept these gods and goddesses is not known but from a reference of Jinduttasuri's (12th century) becoming their follower, it seems the Jaina Church had acknowledged the sixty-four *Yoginīs* and fifty-two *Vīras* and *Kṣetrapālas* in the twelfth century A.D., if not still earlier. From then onwards in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries different lists of their names are found in the various religious works. Recently K. B. Dave has given an interesting account of the image-worship in Gujarat.[3] He says that sixty-four *Yoginīs* have been acknowledged, though with some difference in their names and descriptions as in *Rudrayāmala*, *Agni Purāṇa*, etc. In *Moy Dipika* and *Chaturaṅgi Cintāmaṇi*, however the *Yoginīs* are sixty-eight in number. They are said to be attendants of *Durgā* or *Mahākālī* and are supposed to be cosmic energies of the divine mother, like *Bhairava* of *Siva*. Temples enshrining the images of the *Yoginīs* are still found in several States of Northern India, like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, etc. It is said that a *Yoginī* temple existed in the vicinity of the

3. *Gujarat Nu Mūrtividhāna* published by Gujarat Vidya Sabha, 1963, p. 370.

Brāhmaṇī temple in the village Kamli near Siddhapur in Gujarat. A new temple has been erected here in which images of sixty-four *Yoginīs* are sculptured on stone slab. Archaeological ruins at Palodar in Mehsana bear testimony to the fact that a *Yoginī* temple once existed, here also. Broach (Bharuacchi) was, however, a cardinal centre (*Pīṭhasthānam*) of *Yoginī* worship in Gujarat.[4] Elaborate worship of the *Yoginīs* and their details are enumerated in *Rudra yāmala* and *Tattvanidhi* according to which the *Yoginīs* are said to have four hands and eight faces and mounted on their own carriers (Vāhanas).

In ancient India there were several *Pīṭhasthānas* among which Delhi was a famous and principal centre. It is for this reason that it (Delhi) is referred to as *Yoginīpur* in olden Texts, where a temple of sixty-four *Yoginīs* (Chausaṭh *Yoginī* Mandir) exists till this day, and where Jinchandrasuri, disciple of the famous Jinduttasūri had left this mortal ken, due to the illusory delusion of the *Yoginīs*. Stone inscriptions bear mention that the great Jinduttasūri had invoked the Yoginīs and brought them under his control and obtained their boons and blessings also. In *Vrddhācārya Prabandhāvali*, three and a half Pīṭhas of the Yoginīs are mentioned which are borne by the Khartaragachcha inscriptions also. These are 1. Delhi, 2. Ujjaini, 3. Bharuachchi, and 4. Ajmer. In another inscription the *Pīṭhasthānas* are mentioned as 1. Delhi, 2. Ajmer, 3. Bharuachchi, 4. Ujjaini, 5. Multan, 6. Uchchanagar, and 7. Lahore. Though there is difference in the contents of both the inscriptions, it is probable that *Yoginī* temples once existed in all these and other places. For example, there is a Yoginī

4. *Prācīna Tīrthamālā Saṅgraha*, p. 122.

pilgrim centre at Kasauli in Haryana State (*vide* Haryana Samvad, varsh 1).

Dr. V. S. Agarwala has given three lists of the sixty-four *Yoginīs* and fifty-two *Vīras* and *Kṣetrapālas* in his book entitled *Prācīna Bhāratīya Lokdharma* (1964). At Bheraghat, near Tripuri, 17 kms. off from Jabalpur, there is a *Yoginī* temple on the banks of the Narmada, in which there are eighty-one images of the *Yoginīs* instead of sixty-four only, with their names inscribed at their bases. These names appear to be different from the sixty-four names enumerated in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and the *Durgā Pujā Paddhati* (Appendices I and II). Tripuri was the capital of the Kalachuris of Dahala,[5] south of the kingdom of the Chandelas, and had a long history dating back from the third century A.D. Built by Maharani Alhan Devi in the hey days of Kalachuri power (tenth-eleventh centuries A.D.), this temple had an important place in the early mediaeval times, when this place was the *sanctum sanctorum* of Shaiva cult and worship of the phallus.

The Jainas composed *stotras* on the *Yoginīs*, some in Prākrit and others in Sanskrit. The names of their sixty-four *Yoginīs* are available in *Āchār Dinkar*, a famous Jain work of mid-fifteenth century on the sixteen *Saṃskāras*, their practice and following. The Jainas worship the goddesses of the Tāntrik school such as Gaṇesvarī, Pretākṣi, Śākinī, Kālī, Kālarātri, Vetālī, Bhūtaḍāmarī, Virūpākṣī, Caṇḍī, Vārāhī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Yamadūtī, etc., among these

5. Dahala is now the country around Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. The most powerful King of the Kalachuri dynasty of the Chedis was Gaṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (1010–40) who vastly extended his possessions.

sixty-four *Yoginīs.* Similarly the Buddhists have also their own Texts known as *Yoginījāla Tantra* in this respect. Buddhism, as it appears from Hiuen Tsang's account, reached Kāmarūpa or Kāmākṣyā, once the citadel of Tāntrik worship and practice,[6] even later than seventh century A.D. The Kings of Shālstambhi dynasty (C. 700–1000 A.D.) were devotees of the divine mother *Mahā Gaurī* and did not favour the new faith and the few followers of Buddhism carried on their religious practices in seclusion, away from the din and bustle of public activity. And Kāmākṣyā continued to be a capital centre of the *siddhapuruṣa's* Tāntrik activities, besides Srihatta (Sylhet), Arbud Parvat (Mt. Abu) and Purnagiri (Punyatirtha).[7] Traditionally eighty-four *Siddhas* have been acknowledged, who belonged either to the Buddhist cult or the Shaiva cult and who were believed to have attained supernatural powers and could do wonders in worldly matters[8] during the age of Tāntricism[9] in early mediaeval days. For example, Matsyendranātha the *guru* of Baba Gorakhanāth was a follower of the Shaiva cult had much affinity with the *Yoginī Kaulamārga* Buddhist monks of his times (9th-10th centuries A.D.). Baba Gorakha-

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6. चतुःषष्ठिः समाख्याता योगिन्यः कामरूपिका ।
पूजिताः प्रतिपूज्यन्ते भवेयुर्वरदाः सदा ॥

7. *The History of Civilisation of the People of Assam* by P. C. Choudhuri and *Siddha Sāhitya* by Dharamvir Bharti (1965), Allahabad.

8. *Purātattva Nibandhāvalī* by Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan (1937), Indian Press, Allahabad.

9. *Kaulajnāna Nirṇaya* by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (1934), Calcutta and *Sādhanāmālā* by B. Bhattacharya (1925), Baroda.

nāth is accredited with organising Tāntrik worship of the Mother Goddess Durgā at the *Śaktipīṭhas* or the fifty-one holy centres where, according to Purāṇic tradition, Satī's body-parts had fallen in the country. These *Śaktipīṭhas,* like the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas* or manifestations of light erected in different parts of India at sites where, according to the Tantra-śāstras, Lord Shiva appeared to bless his devotees and mendicants, are considered as potential places where saints and ascetics had assembled since ages past for *tantra-sādhanā* and fulfilment of their desired objectives.

The Tantra literature is mostly in the form of delineation of Śiva and Śakti (Pārvatī) conversation. The *Ṛg-vedic* god *Rudra* emerges more prominently in the *Atharvaveda* wherein He is symbolised as healer (*Bhiṣak*) Vaidyanāth, and who is enshrined as one of the Jyotirliṅgas at Vaidyanāthdhām,[10] 2 kms. off from Jasidih in Behar. Tradition owes it that *Sati's* heart had fallen here and being the sacred crematorium (*Citābhūmi*) of the divine *Satī*,[11] it is the undying divinity that pervades the blessed spot, unmatched anywhere on this earth. The worship of the female deity (*Devīupāsanā*) is exhorted in the *Atharvaveda* more than in any other Vedas. It is believed that the

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10. पूर्वोत्तरे प्रज्वलिकानिधाने
वसन्तं गिरजा समेतम् ।
सुरा सुरामिव पादपद्मं
श्री वैद्यनाथं तमहं नमामि ।।

[स्तोत्ररत्नावली, श्लोक ५, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर]

11. हार्दपीठस्य सदृश्यो नास्ति भूमण्डले—पातालखंड, पद्मपुराण ।

Tāntrik worshipper attains his objective by Devīupāsanā. In fact there is a close relationship between Tantraśāstra and the *Atharvaveda* as evidenced from the various ślokas of *Rudrayāmala.*[12]

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12. अथर्ववेदतंत्रस्था कुंडली परदेवता—पृ० 140.

APPENDIX

1. Names of sixty-four Yoginīs as given in *Kālikā Purāṇa*.

1. Brāhmaṇī
2. Caṇḍikā
3. Raudrī
4. Indrāṇī
5. Kaumārī
6. Vaiṣṇavī
7. Durgā
8. Nārsiṃghī
9. Kālikā
10. Cāmuṇḍā
11. Sivadūtī
12. Vārāhī
13. Kauśikī
14. Māheśvarī
15. Śāṅkarī
16. Jayantī
17. Śarvamaṅgalā
18. Kālī
19. ----
20. Kapālinī
21. Meghā
22. Śivā
23. Śākambharī
24. Bhīmā
25. Śāntā
26. Bhrāmarī
27. Rudrāṇī
28. Ambikā
29. Kṣamā
30. Dhātri
31. Svāhā
32. Svadhā
33. Aparṇā
34. Mahodarī
35. Ghorarūpā
36. Mahākālī
37. Bhadrakālī
38. Bhayaṅkarī
39. Kṣemankarī
40. Ugracaṇḍā
41. Caṇḍogrā
42. Caṇḍanāyikā
43. Caṇḍā
44. Caṇḍavatī
45. Chaṇḍī
46. Mahāmohā
47. Priyaṅkarī
48. Balavikāriṇī
49. Balapramathinī
50. Manomathinī
51. Sarvabhūtadāyinī
52. Umā
53. Tārā
54. Mahānidrā
55. Vijayā
56. Jayā
57. Śailaputrī
58. Candraghaṇṭā

59. Skandamātā
60. Kālarātri
61. Caṇḍikā
62. Kūṣmāṇḍī
63. Kātyāyanī
64. Mahā Gaurī

II. Names of sixty-four Yoginīs described in the *Durgāpaddhati* of *Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇa* as mentioned in *Hindī Viśva-Koṣa* edited by Nagendranath Basu.

1. Nārāyaṇī
2. Gaurī
3. Śākambharī
4. Bhīmā
5. Raktadaṇḍikā
6. Bhramarī
7. Pārvatī
8. Durgā
9. Kātyāyanī
10. Mahādevī
11. Candraghaṇṭā
12. Mahāvidyā
13. Mahātapā
14. Sāvitrī
15. Brahmavādinī
16. Bhadrakālī
17. Viśālākṣī
18. Rudrāṇī
19. Kṛṣnapiṅgalā
20. Agnijvālā
21. Raudramukhī
22. Kālarātri
23. Tapasvinī
24. Meghasvanā
25. Sahasrākṣi
26. Viṣṇumāyā
27. Jalodarī
28. Mahodarī
29. Muktakeṣī
30. Ghorarūpā
31. Mahāvalā
32. Śruti
33. Smṛti
34. Dhṛti
35. Tuṣṭi
36. Puṣṭi
37. Medhā
38. Vidyā
39. Lakṣmī
40. Sarasvatī
41. Aparṇā
42. Ambikā
43. Yoginī
44. Ḍākinī
45. Śākinī
46. Hāriṇī
47. Hakinī
48. Lākinī
49. Tri-daśeśvarī
50. Mahāshasthi
51. Sarvamaṅgalā
52. Lajjā

53. Kauśikī
54. Brāhmaṇī
55. Māhesvarī
56. Kaumārī
57. Vaiṣṇavī
58. Aindrī
59. Nārsinghī
60. Vārāhī
61. Cāmuṇḍā
62. Śivadūtī
63. Viṣṇupriyā
64. Mātṛkā

अथर्ववेदसंहिता में राष्ट्रविषयक विचार और राष्ट्रीय भावना

शशि तिवारी

नई दिल्ली

Our Vedic seers had a very clear concept about rāṣṭra and its constituents which shows their awareness in the field of politics. They had deep devotion and respect for their motherland. The Vedic literature, especially, the *Atharvaveda* testifies it.

वैदिक वाङ्मय मुख्यतया आर्यों के सांस्कृतिक जीवन का परिचायक है। उनके राजनीतिक जीवन से सम्बद्ध सामग्री वहाँ प्रसङ्गवश ही उपलब्ध होती है। इनके आलोचनात्मक अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि वैदिक आर्य शासन-दृष्टि से एक सुव्यवस्थित राष्ट्र के अधीन थे। उन्होंने राष्ट्र के स्वरूप और उसके तत्त्वों की सुस्पष्ट कल्पना की थी। वेदों में राजा, सभा, समिति, राजा का चुनाव, राजा का पदच्युत किया जाना इत्यादि वर्णन वेदकालीन राजनैतिक जागृति और विकास के निदर्शन हैं। यही नहीं, राष्ट्र की महानता से प्रेरित वैदिक आर्यों के हृदय में उद्बुद्ध राष्ट्रीय-भाव और उत्कट देशप्रेम के संकेत भी वैदिक मन्त्रों में प्राप्त हैं।

अन्य वैदिक ग्रन्थों की अपेक्षा अथर्ववेद-संहिता का राजनीतिक वैशिष्ट्य अधिक है। संहिता में अनेक 'राजकर्माणि' सूक्त हैं। अथर्ववेद-संहिता में जिन अनेक शान्तिदायक और पौष्टिक कर्मों का वर्णन है, उनमें ग्राम, नगर, दुर्ग और राष्ट्र की शत्रु से अभिरक्षा उल्लेखनीय है। राष्ट्र-रक्षा-नियमों की इसमें प्रौढ़ता इसके 'क्षत्रवेद' नाम का आधार है।[1] इस संहिता में न केवल तत्कालीन राजनीतिक

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१. शत० ब्राह्मण १४।८।१४।१–४, बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् ५।१३।४; एम० ब्लूमफील्ड, अथर्ववेद एवं गोपथ ब्राह्मण, अनु० डॉ० सूर्यकान्त, १९६४, पृ० १५२; M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda* (S. B. E., Vol. 42) 1967, Introduction, p. 25.

परिस्थितियों और विचारधाराओं का पर्याप्त विवरण प्राप्त है, अपितु यही आर्यों में विद्यमान राष्ट्रीय-भावना की प्रथम अभिव्यक्ति है। ऋग्वेदसंहिता में प्रतिबिम्बित आर्यों के राजनीतिक जीवन का मुख्य पक्ष है—आर्यों के दास-दस्यु आदि से किये गये अनेक युद्ध अथवा विभिन्न आर्य-राज्यों के आपसी युद्ध और उनमें विजय के लिये इष्टदेव इन्द्र से प्रार्थनाएँ। ऋचाओं में कितने ही राजाओं का उल्लेख है, जिससे स्पष्ट है कि ऋग्वेद-काल में समस्त देश विभिन्न स्वतन्त्र प्रशासनिक मण्डलों में विभाजित था। राजनीतिक व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत ऋक्संहिता में कुल, ग्राम, विश्, जन, राष्ट्र आदि सङ्गठनों की चर्चा है। यहाँ केवल एक बार 'राज्य' और दस बार 'राष्ट्र' शब्द का प्रयोग प्राप्त है। मैकडॉनल तथा कीथ ने प्रायः सर्वत्र ही 'राष्ट्र' शब्द को 'राज्य' (Kingdom) या 'राजकीय क्षेत्र' (Royal Territory) का वाचक माना है।[२] किन्तु राजा द्वारा राष्ट्र के अधिपतित्व[३] अथवा रक्षण[४] के वर्णनों से ऋग्वेदीय राष्ट्र का क्षेत्रीय स्वरूप स्पष्ट नहीं होता है। दशम मण्डल में राजा के निर्वाचन के सन्दर्भ में उसे राष्ट्र का स्वामी कहा गया है और कामना की गई है कि सारी प्रजाएँ (विशः) उसे चाहें और 'राष्ट्र' उससे वियुक्त न हो जाए,[५] वह इन्द्र के समान स्थिर होकर राष्ट्र को धारण करे;[६] मात्र इससे ही 'राष्ट्र' में प्रादेशिक तत्त्व की परिकल्पना का सङ्केत मिलता है। ऋक्संहिता में लगभग २७५ बार 'जन' और १७० बार 'विश्' शब्दों के प्रयोग से जनजातीय जीवन की प्रमुखता का बोध होता है। निश्चित रूप से उस समय 'जन' सबसे ऊँची सामाजिक इकाई था। अतः यह मत तर्कसङ्गत है कि 'ऋग्वैदिक लोगों का सामाजिक सङ्गठन जनजातीय अवस्था को पार नहीं कर पाया था।[७] ऋग्वैदिक सरदारों के मन में क्षेत्रीय राज्य की कोई कल्पना नहीं थी और ऋग्वैदिक राज्य मुख्यतः जनजातीय संस्था था'।[८] दूसरी ओर ऋक्संहिता में उल्लिखित वर्णव्यवस्था, सभा, समिति, राजपदादि विभिन्न महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्थाओं की तत्कालीन अवस्थिति से प्रकट होता है कि उस समय प्रजा अपने अधिकारों के प्रति पर्याप्त सजग थी और उसमें जनहित और लोककल्याण की सामाजिक भावना विकसित हो चुकी थी।

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२. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, A. A. Macdonell & A. B. Keith, Vol. II, 1967, p. 223.

३. ऋ० सं० १०।१२४।५।

४. ऋ० सं० १०।१०९।३।

५. ऋ० सं० १०।१७३।१।

६. ऋ० सं० १०।१७३।२।

७. डॉ० रामशरण शर्मा, प्राचीन भारतीय राजनीतिक विचार एवं संस्थायें वही १९७७, पृ० २७३।

८. वही, पृ० २७६।

अथर्ववैदिक 'राष्ट्र'–स्वरूप, तत्त्व और निर्माण

अथर्ववेद-संहिता से वैदिक युग के राजनैतिक जीवन की अपेक्षाकृत विकसित अवस्था का परिचय प्राप्त होता है। राजनीतिशास्त्रीय शब्दों में यहाँ विश्, क्षत्र, राज्य और राष्ट्र उल्लेखनीय हैं। विश् का प्रयोग मुख्यतया जन (१४।२।२७), प्रजा (३।४।२) अथवा राष्ट्रवासियों के अर्थ में किया गया है। 'क्षत्र' शब्द प्रभुत्व, शक्ति, नेतृत्व, आधिपत्य, शासन आदि अर्थों में प्रयुक्त हुआ है। मन्त्र में कहा गया है कि राजा द्वारा अपमानित ब्राह्मण राजा के 'क्षत्र' को नष्ट कर देता है।[९] अन्यत्र 'क्षत्र' से क्षत्रिय[१०], बल[११], शक्ति[१२] आदि का अभिप्राय प्रकट होता है। इस संहिता में ७ बार 'राज्य' और लगभग ५८ बार 'राष्ट्र' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है। तदनुरूप ही यहाँ वैदिक आर्यों की राष्ट्रपरक दृष्टि और परिकल्पना विशद है। राज्य सामान्यतः 'सार्वभौम सत्ता' के अर्थ में आया है[१३], तो 'राष्ट्र' राज्य का वाचक है।[१४] राज्य और राष्ट्र शब्दों के सहप्रयोग (३।४।२) से उनका अर्थभेद भी ध्वनित होता है। अथर्ववेदसंहिता के अनुसार विभिन्न राजनीतिक सङ्गठनों में राष्ट्र (√राज् दीप्तौ+ष्ट्रन्) सर्वोच्च था। राष्ट्र की प्राप्ति देवों की कृपा पर आधारित थी।[१५] राजा राष्ट्र की रक्षा करता था।[१६] अतः सामान्य रूप से राज्य ही राष्ट्र था।

निश्चित भूखण्ड, एक जन समूह, उनकी मिलकर रहने की आकाङ्क्षा और संस्कृति की एकता आदि राष्ट्र के मुख्य तत्त्व हैं। यास्क ने भी सम्भवतः भिन्न-भिन्न मनुष्यों के संस्थानैकत्व और सम्भोगैकत्व (दुर्गाचार्य—इतरेतरोपकारित्वम्) को राष्ट्र के लिये आवश्यक माना है।[१७] ऋक्संहिता में 'राष्ट्र' का जनजातीय स्वरूप अधिक प्रबल है, जब कि अथर्वसंहिता में उसका प्रादेशिक स्वरूप भी प्रकाश में आया है। राजा के निर्वाचन-गान में अथर्ववैदिक ऋषि की कामना है कि राष्ट्र राजा के अधि-

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९. ५।१८।१४।

१०. ४।२२।२।

११. ६।९८।२।

१२. ६।५४।१।

१३. वैदिक कोश, डॉ० सूर्यकान्त, १९६३, पृ० ४४५।

१४. वही, पृ० ४४६।

१५. १३।१।३५।

१६. ६।८७।१।

१७. तत्र संस्थानैकत्वं सम्भोगैकत्वं चोपेक्षितव्यम्। तत्रैतन्नरराष्ट्रमिव। निरुक्त ७।५।८-९।

कार में रहें और वरुण, बृहस्पतिदेव, इन्द्र और अग्नि उसे राजा के लिये ध्रुवभाव से धारण करें।[१८] अथर्ववेदीय भूमि-सूक्त में मातृ-भूमि की वन्दना करते हुए ऋषियों ने यत्र-तत्र राष्ट्र के स्वरूपादि की भी सुन्दर उद्भावना की है। वहाँ अधिकांश स्थलों पर 'हमारी भूमि' से 'हमारे राष्ट्र' का अभिप्राय ग्राह्य है। एक मन्त्र में तो स्पष्ट रूप से पृथिवी देवी से राष्ट्र में तेज और बल को स्थापित करने की प्रार्थना है।[१९] राष्ट्र के जनतत्त्व और क्षेत्रीय तत्त्व को अभिव्यक्त करते हुए प्रार्थनाओं में कहा गया है कि, 'हे मातृभूमि ! तुम हम सबका एक साथ मिलकर रहने का स्थान हो' [२०], और भी 'हे मातृभूमि ! जो मनुष्य तुम्हारे में ही पैदा हुए हैं, तुम पर ही चलते-फिरते हैं; तुम उनका पालन करती हो'।[२१] यदि 'वैश्वानरम्' का अर्थ 'सब भाँति के मनुष्यों का समूह' (सातवलेकर के अनुसार) लिया जाय, तो 'वैश्वानरं बिभ्रती भूमिः' (१२।१।६) से भी भूमि और जनसमूह का समुच्चय रूप राष्ट्र व्यञ्जित होता है। राष्ट्र के मूर्ततत्त्व का उल्लेख करते हुए ऋषि ने पृथ्वी से विशाल स्थान की कामना की है।[२२] इसी प्रकार अन्यत्र वरुण, वायु और अग्नि से प्रार्थना है कि वे हमारे लिए विशाल और निवास योग्य राष्ट्र बनावें।[२३] कहा जा सकता है कि भूमिसूक्त में मातृभूमि के उपासक ने भूमि के भौतिक और प्राकृतिक स्वरूप के मनोहर चित्रण के साथ-साथ राष्ट्र के भौगोलिक तत्त्व की मीमांसा भी प्रस्तुत की है। जैसे—हमारी मातृभूमि विश्वम्भरा, वसुधानी, हिरण्यवक्षा[२४] और विश्वगर्भा है।[२५] यह विविध शक्तिशाली औषधियों को धारण करती है[२६] और इस पर अनेक वृक्ष और वनस्पतियाँ स्थिर हैं।[२७] इस पर ही समुद्र, नदियाँ, झील और झरने आदि हैं तथा इस पर ही अन्न और खेतियाँ होती हैं।[२८] इस पर विविध धाराओं में हमारे लिये निरन्तर जल बहता रहता है।[२९] यह विविध खानों में धन,

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१८. ६।८८।२।
१९. १२।१।८।
२०. १२।१।१८।
२१. १२।१।१५।
२२. १२।१।१।
२३. ३।८।१।
२४. १२।१।६ १२।१।२६।
२५. १२।१।४३।
२६. १२।१।२।
२७. १२।१।२७।
२८. १२।१।३।
२९. १२।१।९।

मणि और हिरण्य आदि की निधि को धारण करती है।[३०] मातृभूमि का पवित्र यज्ञभूमि के रूप में भी स्मरण किया गया है, जिस पर सदन और यज्ञस्तम्भ निर्मित होते हैं।[३१] राष्ट्र के भूभाग का विश्लेषण करते हुए कहा गया है कि इस पर हिमवान् पर्वत हैं, वन हैं, इसकी भूमि कृष्णा, रोहिणी, विश्वरूपा, ध्रुवा, इन्द्रगुप्ता और पृथिवी है।[३२]

अथर्वसंहिता में निश्चित रूप से राष्ट्र केवल देश या केवल जनता का वाचक नहीं है। और न ही वहाँ राष्ट्र से केवल भूमि के एक भाग में रहने वाले मनुष्य-समाज का बोध ही अभीष्ट है। 'राजते तत् राष्ट्रम्' व्युत्पत्ति के अनुसार 'जो चमकता है, वह राष्ट्र है।' अथर्ववेदीय मन्त्रों में ऋषियों द्वारा राष्ट्र के कुछ अन्य विशिष्ट और अमूर्त तत्त्वों का सङ्केत किया गया है, जिनमें पराक्रम (क्षत्र) और ब्राह्मतेज (ब्रह्म) उल्लेखनीय हैं। वसिष्ठ ऋषि ने 'अजर क्षत्र' की कामना करते हुए कहा है, 'मैं इस राजा के राष्ट्र को सामर्थ्यवान् बनाता हूँ। मैं इसकी सेना के ओज-वीर्य-बल को तीक्ष्ण करता हूँ।[३३] सच्चे वीरों से युक्त इसके राष्ट्र को मैं सर्वथा अभिवर्द्धित करता हूँ। इसका क्षत्र सर्वथा अक्षय हो'।[३४] इसी प्रकार ब्रह्म-बल के साथ-साथ वीर्य-बल की तीक्ष्णता भी प्रार्थनीय है।[३५] 'ब्रह्म' द्वारा शत्रुओं का नाश होता है।[३६] अन्यत्र राष्ट्र में (ब्रह्म) तेज के नाश और वीर के अभाव के प्रति चिन्ता व्यक्त की गई है,[३७] जिससे वैदिक राष्ट्र के लिये इनकी अनिवार्यता सूचित होती है। एक मन्त्र में राजा को ब्रह्म और क्षत्र की उन्नति के लिये आदेश दिया गया है।[३८] अतः अथर्ववैदिक दृष्टि में राष्ट्र का स्वरूप भूभाग, विश्, क्षत्र और ब्रह्म—इन चार तत्त्वों से विशेषतया निर्मित होता है।

डॉ० विश्वनाथ प्रसाद वर्मा ने अथर्ववेदीय ५।१७ सूत्र का विश्लेषण करते

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३०. १२।१।४४।

३१. १२।१।३८।

३२. १२।१।११।

३३. ३।१९।२।

३४. ३।१९।५।

३५. ३।१९।१।

३६. ३।१९।३।

३७. ५।१९।४।

३८. १५।१०।३।

हुए लिखा है,[३९] कि 'इन मन्त्रों के अनुशीलन से हमें इस तत्त्व का परिज्ञान होता है कि राष्ट्र के अन्तर्गत किन-किन कारकों का संग्रह किया जा सकता है—

१. क. वीर पुरुष,
   ख. पञ्च मानव, मनुष्य,
   ग. राजा, राजन्य, ब्राह्मण, वैश्य

२. विकर्ण पृथुशिरा (वृषभ)
   श्वेत कृष्णकर्ण (अश्व)
   पृश्नि, धेनु, अनड्वान्

३. क्षेत्र पुष्करिणी।

अथर्वसंहिता में राष्ट्रनिर्माण का श्रेय ऋषियों की तपश्चर्या को दिया गया है। एक मन्त्र में वर्णन है कि कल्याण की इच्छा करने वाले आत्मज्ञानी ऋषि प्रारम्भ में तप और दीक्षा का आचरण करने लगे, उससे राष्ट्र हुआ और बल तथा ओज भी उत्पन्न हुआ।[४०] अन्यत्र भी मातृभूमि की स्तुति के सन्दर्भ में पूर्वकालिक ऋषियों का स्मरण किया गया है।[४१]

राष्ट्र की महत्त्वपूर्ण राजनीतिक संस्थाएँ

अथर्ववेद में सभा और समिति नामक राष्ट्र की दो महत्त्वपूर्ण संस्थाओं का उल्लेख है। इनका शासक और शासन से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध था। मन्त्रों में ये प्रजापति की दो पुत्रियाँ कही गयी हैं,[४२] जिससे इनकी पुरातनी सत्ता व्यंजित होती है। जो राजा प्रजाओं (विश्) के अनुकूल चलता था सभा और समिति उसके अनुकूल चलती थीं।[४३] अथर्ववेद में सभा को 'नरिष्टा' कहा गया है।[४४] सायण के अनुसार इसका अर्थ है—अहिंसिता (परैरनभिभाव्या)। उन्होंने इसकी व्याख्या अनेक लोगों के ऐसे सङ्कल्प के रूप में भी की है, जिसका उल्लंघन न किया जा सके।[४५]

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३९. वैदिक राजनीतिशास्त्र, डॉ० विश्वनाथ प्रसाद वर्मा, विहार हिंदी ग्रन्थ अकादमी, पटना, १९७५, पृ० १९८।

४०. १९।४१।१।

४१. १२।१।३९।

४२. ७।१२।१।

४३. १५।९।१-२।

४४. ७।१२।२।

४५. अनतिलङ्घ्यवाक्यत्वाद् नरिष्टेति नाम सभाया युज्यते। सायणभाष्य ७।१२।२।

इससे यह अनुमान उपयुक्त है कि 'सभा का सङ्कल्प सभी के लिये बन्धनकारी और अनुल्लंघनीय था।[४६] ग्रिफिथ ने 'नरिष्टा' का अर्थ 'वार्तालाप' (Interchange of talk) किया है,[४७] तो ह्विटनी ने खेलकूद (Sport)[४८]। सभा के स्वरूप पर विचार करते हुए सायण ने इसे विद्वानों का समाज (विदुषां समाजः ७।१२।१) माना है, तो ग्रिफिथ के मत में यह ग्राम के लोगों की सभा (Meeting of the people of a village) है और ह्विटनी के मत में सङ्गत (Assembly)। सभा के सदस्यों को 'सभ्य' या 'सभासद' पद से विभूषित किया जाता था।[४९] कामना की गई है कि सभासद समान ही वाणी बोलने वाले हों।[५०] इससे सभा में उच्च सामाजिक वर्ग के लोगों की उपस्थिति का आभास मिलता है। यह गिने-चुने लोगों की सभा प्रतीत होती है सभा का मुख्य कार्य राजा को परामर्श देना और न्याय-वितरण करना था। अन्य कार्यों के अतिरिक्त सभा में सदस्यों के मनोरञ्जन के लिये नृत्य आदि का आयोजन भी होता था।[५१] निश्चय ही सभा आर्यों की राष्ट्रीय संस्था थी।

सभा के समान ही समिति को भी अथर्ववेदीय मन्त्रों में एक विशेष संस्था माना गया है। यास्क ने 'समिति' को 'संग्राम' कहा है।[५२] सम्भवतः इसी आधार पर सायण ने इससे युद्ध के लिये एकत्र लोगों की सभा का अभिप्राय लिया है।[५३] अथर्ववेद में समिति का उल्लेख संग्राम के साथ किया गया है,[५४] जिससे भी समिति का सामरिक स्वरूप व्यक्त होता है। अतः समिति युद्धकालीन सभा थी अथवा इसका उपयोग सैनिक कार्यों के लिये होता था। ग्रिफिथ ने इससे 'यज्ञार्थ एकत्रीकरण'

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४६. ...'a resolution of the *Sabhā* was considered binding on all and inviolable', *Hindu Polity,* Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Bangalore, 1943, p. 19.

४७. *The Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* R. T. H. Griffith. Vol. I, Benares, 1916, p. 333.

४८. *The Atharva-veda Samhita,* William Dwight Whitney, Motilal Banarsidass, 1962, Vol. I, p. 397.

४९. १९।५५।५।

५०. ७।१२।२।

५१. ११।८।२४।

५२. निरुक्त ३।९।१९।

५३. ७।१२।१।

५४. १२।१।५६।

(A Congregation for sacrificial purpose and religious purpose)[५५] और ह्विटनी ने 'एकत्रीकरण' (Gathering) का अर्थ लिया है।[५६] अतः सामान्य रूप से यह जनसाधारण की संस्था मानी जा सकती है। राज्य की सुरक्षा में इसका विशेष योगदान होने के कारण ही सम्भवतः राजा के लिये इसकी अनुकूलता आवश्यक मानी गई थी; पदच्युत राजा के पुनः संवरण के अवसर पर पुरोहित राजा को आशीर्वाद देता है कि समिति तुम्हारी स्थिरता के लिये समर्थ हो[५७] अन्यथा अत्याचारी शासक के वश में समिति नहीं रहती है।[५८] समिति के राजनीतिक कार्यों के अन्तर्गत मन्त्रों में राजा का निर्वाचन, पदच्युति, पुनर्वरण इत्यादि के संकेत अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से प्राप्त होते हैं।[५९] समिति ही विचार-विमर्श की भी संस्था थी। इसमें विचारैक्य का रहना अथवा मतभेद न रहना आवश्यक समझा जाता था। तभी परस्पर सौमनस्य को प्राप्त होने के लिये प्रार्थना की गई है।[६०] इसी प्रकार समानी समिति की कामना व्यक्त की गई है।[६१] अतः समिति में विचारों की एकता को प्रमुखता दी जाती थी। राष्ट्र से सम्बद्ध समस्त महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों पर विचार करना, निर्णय लेना और राज्य के लिए नीति निर्धारित करना समिति के ही कार्य थे। अतः वैदिक युग में राष्ट्रीय जीवन के विकास के लिये समिति पर्याप्त महत्त्वपूर्ण थी।

यद्यपि सभा और समिति के वास्तविक स्वरूप के विषय में मतैक्य का अभाव है, तथापि कहा जा सकता है कि राजा से घनिष्ठतया सम्बद्ध होने के कारण ये दोनों ही वैदिक राष्ट्र की आधारभूत राजनीतिक संस्थाएँ थीं।

राष्ट्र का प्रधान—राजा

राजा के सम्बन्ध में अथर्वमन्त्रों में कहा गया है—"हे राजन्! हम तुम्हें राष्ट्र के राष्ट्रपति पद पर प्रतिष्ठित करते हैं। तुम हमारे मध्य राष्ट्रपति हो। अब तुम अचल भाव से इस पद पर स्थिर रहो। सारी प्रजाएँ तुम्हें चाहें। यह राष्ट्र तुम्हारे अधिकार से निकल न जाए।[६२] तुम पर्वत और इन्द्र के समान दृढ़ता से

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५५. *The Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, R. T. H. Griffith. Vol. I, Benares, 1916, p. 333.

५६. *Atharva-veda Saṃhita*, W. D. Whitney. Vol. I, p. 396

५७. ६।८८।३।

५८. ५।१९।१५।

५९. ३।४।२।

६०. ६।८८।३।

६१. ६।६४।२, ऋ० सं० १०।१९१।३।

६२. ६।८७।१।

स्थिर होकर इस राष्ट्र को धारण करो।"[६३] अतः राष्ट्र के धारण और रक्षण के लिये राजा का संवरण किया जाता था। वरुणादि देवों से भी राष्ट्र को ध्रुव-भाव से धारण करने की प्रार्थना है।[६४] राजा के पदच्युत अथवा निष्कासित किये जाने के पश्चात् स्वराज्य में उसकी पुनः स्थापना (३।३) और प्रजाओं द्वारा संवरण (३।४) का उल्लेख भी किया गया है। उस सन्दर्भ में कहा गया है—'तुम राष्ट्र के सर्वोच्च सिंहासन पर प्रतिष्ठित हो, तदनन्तर तुम हममें धन का समुचित वितरण करो।[६५] इससे सिद्ध होता है कि राष्ट्र की भौतिक किंवा आर्थिक समृद्धि के विकास के लिये राजा की स्थापना की जाती थी। प्रजा की सम्यक् व्यवस्था करना भी राजा का कर्त्तव्य था। एक मन्त्र में वर्णन है कि वह प्रजाजनों को स्व-स्व व्यापार में संलग्न करें।[६६]

'राष्ट्राभिवर्धनम्' सूक्त (१।२९) में राजा की राष्ट्र के प्रति भावना के दर्शन होते हैं। राजा का निश्चय है कि उसकी सब शक्तियाँ राष्ट्रहित के लिये बढ़ें।[६७] वह कहता है कि राष्ट्र की उन्नति और वैरियों के पराभव के लिये विजयशील मणि मेरे शरीर पर बाँधी जाए।[६८] सातवलेकर ने 'राजा राष्ट्र का बना रहे' इस अर्थ में उसके विशेषण 'अभिराष्ट्रः'[६९] (अभितः राष्ट्रं यस्य) की व्याख्या की है,[७०] जिससे भी राष्ट्र-हित राजा का साध्य सिद्ध होता है। समस्त राष्ट्र को उन्नति के पथ पर अग्रसर करने के हेतु राजा के लिये नियमों के पालन की आवश्यकता निर्दिष्ट की गई है। एक मन्त्र में कहा गया है कि राजा ब्रह्मचर्य, तपस्या और साधना से राष्ट्र का विरक्षण और पालन करता है।[७१] भाव है कि जिस शासक का जीवन कठोर व्रतों के पालन में व्यतीत होता है, वही राष्ट्र का कल्याण कर सकता है। डा० विश्वनाथ प्रसाद वर्मा का मत है कि इससे—राष्ट्र भोगैषणा की तुष्टि का मार्ग है—

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६३. ६।८७।२।

६४. ६।८८।२, दे० पृ० ५, पा० टि० ४।

६५. ३।४।२।

६६. ३।४।६।

६७. १।२९।१।

६८. १।२९।४।

६९. १।२९।६।

७०. सातवलेकर, अथर्ववेद का सुबोध भाष्य, खण्ड १, काण्ड १, पृ० ८१।

७१. ११।५।१७, तुलनीय ११।५।११, १६, १९।

इस मन्तव्य का खण्डन होता है और नैतिक राजनीतिशास्त्र का बीज भी इस मन्त्र में है।[७२]

अथर्ववेदीय मन्त्रों में एक राष्ट्र के प्रधान 'राजा' की सर्वोत्तमता भी प्रार्थनीय है। राष्ट्र के राजा का वर्णन करने वाले सूक्त में राजा पर्णमणि से प्रार्थना करता है कि वह छत्र और धन को धारण करे और राष्ट्र के अभिनीत जनों (अभीवर्ग) में अकेले ही सर्वोत्तम निज हो जाए।[७३] इससे राजा की भावना कि मैं राष्ट्र का निजभाव से सर्वाधिक हित साधने वाला बनूं-व्यक्त होती है। इसी प्रकार अथर्ववेदीय 'वृषकामना' सूक्त में की गयी 'एकवृषत्व' की आकांक्षा[७४] को शक्तिमत्ता और श्रेष्ठता की आकांक्षा के अर्थ में ग्रहण किया जा सकता है, जो राष्ट्र के अधिपति के लिये वाञ्छनीय है। अन्यत्र राजा को सब तरह से बढ़ाने और समस्त प्रजावर्ग में अद्वितीय बलवान् बनाने के निमित्त इन्द्रदेव से प्रार्थना की गयी है।[७५] इसी प्रकार कामना है कि राजा क्षत्रियों में श्रेष्ठ हो,[७६] सर्वसम्पदाओं का स्वामी और प्रजाओं का अधिपति हो[७७]; यह इन्द्र, गायों, पशुओं और विविध ओषधियों का प्रिय हो,[७८] इत्यादि। दर्शनीय है कि जनमत की सहमति को राजा के संवरण और समिति की अनुकूलता को राजा के स्थायित्व का आधार मानने से वैदिक आर्यों की यह धारणा व्यक्त होती है कि किसी एक नायक के हाथों में शक्ति का केन्द्रीकरण नहीं होना चाहिए; वहीं राष्ट्र के प्रतीकरूप राजा के लिये उनके द्वारा की गई शक्तिमत्ता और सर्वश्रेष्ठता की अनेकानेक अभिकामनाएँ राष्ट्र के प्रति उनके अतिशय उदात्त और महनीय भाव को प्रकट करती हैं।

'राष्ट्रदिप्सवः' और 'राष्ट्रभृतः'

अथर्ववेदीय मन्त्रों में राष्ट्रद्रोहियों के विनाश की कामना की गई है और राष्ट्रपोषकों का अभिनन्दन किया गया है। वरणमणि से राष्ट्र के हिंसकों को छिन्न-

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७२. वैदिक राजनीतिशास्त्र, डॉ० विश्वनाथ प्रसाद वर्मा, पटना, १९७५, पृ० २१५-२१६।

७३. ३।५।२, तुलनीय ६।५४।२।

७४. ६।८६।१, देखिये ६।८६।२, ३।

७५. ४।२२।१।

७६. ४।२२।२।

७७. ४।२२।३।

७८. ४।२२।४।

भिन्न करने की प्रार्थना की गई है।[७९] राष्ट्र-हित के प्रसङ्ग में ब्रह्मणस्पति से कहा गया है कि हमारे प्रतिपक्षियों, (कर) न देनेवाली (अथवा राष्ट्रधन शत्रुओं को देने वाली) प्रजाओं, सेना द्वारा चढ़ाई करने वाले तथा दुःख उत्पन्न करनेवाले जनों को कुचल दो।[८०] निश्चय ही राष्ट्र के शत्रु राष्ट्र के अन्दर भी हैं और बाहर भी। राष्ट्र या मातृभूमि के लिये हितकर बोलते हुए देशभक्त मातृभूमि का दोहन करने वाले शत्रुओं के नाश का सङ्कल्प करते हैं।[८१]

स्कम्भदेव की श्रेष्ठता के वर्णन में कथन है कि उसके लिये 'राष्ट्रभृत्' लोग 'बलि' को धारण करते हैं।[८२] सायण ने 'बलि' का अर्थ 'कर' या 'उपायन' किया है।[८३] ह्विटनी ने 'बलि' का अर्थ 'राज-कर' (Tribute) ही लिया है।[८४] अतः राष्ट्रद्रोहियों के विपरीत राष्ट्र के पोषक जन राष्ट्र को समुचित रूप से कर देते हैं। मातृभूमि के उपासक की अभिलाषा है कि हम भूमि (राष्ट्र) को बलि देते रहें।[८५] एक सम्पूर्ण सूक्त (७।१०९) में 'राष्ट्रभृतः' का वर्णन है, जिसे सातवलेकर ने राष्ट्र का भरण-पोषण करनेवालों का वर्णन माना है। तदनुसार प्रथम मन्त्र में राष्ट्र का पोषण करने वाले उग्रवीर के लिये नमस्कार किया गया है,[८६] तो छठे मन्त्र में उन्हें विविध विशेषण दिये गये हैं; वे 'संवसवः' हैं क्योंकि उत्तमरीति से दूसरों का निवास होने के लिये प्रयत्न करते हैं, वे 'उग्रंपश्याः' हैं क्योंकि उनका स्वरूप वीरता-युक्त है और वे 'अक्षाः' हैं क्योंकि वे राष्ट्र की आँखें हैं, इनकी आँखों से मानों राष्ट्र देखता है।[८७] अन्यत्र सूर्य के चारों ओर घूमने वाले देवों को भी 'राष्ट्रभृतः' (राष्ट्र-पोषक) कहा गया है।[८८]

राष्ट्र-धारक विशिष्ट गुण

अथर्ववेदीय भूमिसूक्त में स्थिर और विस्तृत भूमि को धर्म से धृत अर्थात्

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७९. १०।३।१६।

८०. १।२९।२।

८१. १२।१।५८।

८२. १०।८।१५।

८३. बलिम् उपायनं करं वा। सायणभाष्य ३।४।३।

८४. *The Atharva-veda Saṃhita*, W. D. Whitney, Vol. I 1962, p. 89.

८५. १२।१।६२।

८६. ७।१०९।१।

८७. ७।१०९।६, सातवलेकर, अथर्ववेद का सुबोध भाष्य, खण्ड ३, काण्ड ७, पृ० १२२।

८८. १३।१।३५।

पालित-पोषित बताया गया है।[८९] यहाँ 'धर्म' राष्ट्र को धारण करने में समर्थ सद्गुणों का उपलक्षण प्रतीत होता है। इस सूक्त के प्रथम मन्त्र में ही राष्ट्र-धारक गुणों में से कुछ विशेष और आवश्यक गुणों का स्पष्ट उल्लेख प्राप्त है। तदनुसार बृहत् सत्य, उग्र ऋत, दीक्षा, तप, ब्रह्म और यज्ञ पृथिवी को धारण करते हैं।[९०] अतः ये सभी गुण राष्ट्रसंरक्षक मनुष्यों अथवा राजा में अनिवार्य रूप से होने चाहिए। सर्वप्रथम राष्ट्रीय गुण 'सत्य' है, वह स्वरूपतः व्यापक, है इसीलिए उसे 'बृहत् सत्य' कहा गया है। राष्ट्र-धारणार्थ सत्यप्रियता, सत्यपालन में सर्वस्व अर्पण की स्पृहा का महत्त्व अन्य गुणों से अधिक है। दूसरा गुण 'ऋत'[९१] है, जिसे 'उग्र' विशेषण दिया गया है। सत्य पर आश्रित दृढ़ सङ्कल्प अथवा यथार्थ ज्ञान राजनीतिक सुव्यवस्था के लिये अपेक्षित है। 'उग्रम्' को स्वतन्त्र पद मानकर इससे क्षात्रतेज अथवा पराक्रम का अभिप्राय भी लिया जा सकता है। उद्योगशीलता अथवा प्रत्येक काम करने में दक्षता को 'दीक्षा' गुण कहा गया है, इससे ही व्यक्ति कर्तव्य-पालन में समर्थ होता है। 'तप' गुण का राष्ट्रीय महत्त्व है, इससे राष्ट्र की उन्नति के लिये राष्ट्रसंरक्षक जनों में आचरण और व्यवहार में संयम, नियमबद्धता अथवा धर्मानुष्ठान की प्रवृत्ति आदेशित है। अगला राष्ट्रीय गुण 'ब्रह्म' है जिससे बृहत् ज्ञान या विद्या का अभिप्राय है; इससे यहाँ राष्ट्र-रक्षण और उन्नयन के लिये ज्ञान-विज्ञान की उपयोगिता व्यक्त होती है। मन्त्र में अन्तिम गुण 'यज्ञ' बताया गया है जिससे श्लेष द्वारा आत्म-समर्पण का भाव और श्रेष्ठतम कर्म[९२] का अभिप्राय ग्राह्य है। राष्ट्र के सुसञ्चालन और उन्नति के लिये राष्ट्र के शासक वर्ग अथवा राजा में उपर्युक्त गुण वाञ्छनीय है। जिनमें ये गुण होते हैं, वे ही अपने राष्ट्र को सम्हाल पाते हैं।

राष्ट्रीय उन्नति और समृद्धि की कामना

अथर्ववैदिक ऋषियों ने राष्ट्र की उन्नति, समृद्धि और समग्रता के लिये अनेक प्रार्थनाएँ की हैं। उन्होंने प्रत्येक दम्पति से राष्ट्र की उन्नति में योगदान करने की कामना की है।[९३] विश्व को उत्पन्न करनेवाले रोहित देव से प्रार्थना है कि वे

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८९. १२।१।१७।

९०. १२।१।१।

९१. मनसा यथावस्तुचिन्तनमृतशब्दाभिधेयम्। ऐतरेयब्राह्मण सायण-भाष्य १।६।
ऋतं मनसा यथार्थसंकल्पनम्। यजुर्वेद, महीधर भाष्य १।१।

९२. यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म इति श्रुतिः।

९३. ६।७८।२।

उपासक को राष्ट्र (की उन्नति) के लिये उत्तम भरणपोषणपूर्वक धारण करें।[९४] यहाँ अपने स्वास्थ्य और पोषण की अभिलाषा में राष्ट्रीय उन्नति की मनोकामना गर्भित हैं। रोहित देव की प्रशंसा है कि उन्होंने ही राष्ट्र को उच्च स्थिति में पहुँचाया है, शत्रुओं को दूर किया है और निर्भयता उत्पन्न की है[९५]; उनसे प्रार्थना है कि अब वे राष्ट्र को घी और दूध से सम्पुष्ट करें।[९६] ऋषि को उत्कट उत्कण्ठा है कि 'यह राष्ट्र आनन्दपूर्ण हो'।[९७] अथर्ववेदीय दृष्टि में संस्कृति से दूर हटना राष्ट्र-विनाश का कारण है और दुराचार के परिहार से राष्ट्र के प्रत्येक अङ्ग का कल्याण होता है। मन्त्रों में कहा गया है कि जिस राष्ट्र में ब्राह्मण की स्त्री के चारित्र्य की रक्षा नहीं होती है, उस पर अनेक अनर्थ आते हैं।[९८] अतः स्त्रीचारित्र्य की रक्षा से राष्ट्रोन्नति होती है। अन्यत्र निर्देश है कि जिस राष्ट्र में ब्राह्मण की गाय और ब्राह्मण को कष्ट पहुँचाया जाता है, उस राष्ट्र का तेज नष्ट हो जाता है, वहाँ वीर पुरुष उत्पन्न नहीं होते हैं, और वह राष्ट्र पाप से विनष्ट हो जाता है।[९९] अतः ज्ञान और ज्ञानी का सत्कार राष्ट्र की उन्नति का हेतु है। राष्ट्र को सुख-समृद्धि (सौभग) के हेतु आपूर्ण करने की अग्नि से की गई प्रार्थना राष्ट्रीय समृद्धि की कामना के सन्दर्भ में उल्लेखनीय है।[१००] यही नहीं, राष्ट्रीय भाव से प्रेरित वैदिक आर्यों ने राष्ट्रसंवर्धनार्थ ही देवप्रसाद से स्वयं समृद्ध होने की अभिलाषा व्यक्त की है।[१०१] उनकी आकांक्षा है कि वे अपनी कल्याणमयी और सुखदायिनी मातृभूमि की सदा सेवा करते रहें।[१०२]

भूमिसूक्त—एक राष्ट्रीय गीत

अथर्ववेदीय भूमिसूक्त (१२।१) में पृथिवी का प्रभूत और निसर्ग वर्णन है। इस सूक्त में राष्ट्र की विशालता, प्राकृतिक सम्पत्ति, वैभव और गौरव अतिशय उदात्त शब्दों में गाये गये हैं। इसमें मातृभूमि-उपासकों ने पृथिवी की महिमा का वर्णन करते हुए अपने क्षेत्रगत रागात्मक भावों को भी अभिव्यक्त किया है। अतः इस सूक्त

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९४. १३।१।१।
९५. १३।१।५।
९६. १३।१।८।
९७. १३।१।२०।
९८. ५।१७।१२, ५।१७।१३-१७।
९९. ५।१९।४, ५।१९।८, तुलनीय १२।५।२।
१००. ७।३५।१।
१०१. १।२९।१।
१०२. १२।१।१७।

से राष्ट्रवाद के भावनात्मक आधार के रूप में क्षेत्रीय अनुराग की पुष्टि होती है। यह सूक्त ऋषियों की मनोरम कल्पना, समुन्नत चिन्तन और अकृत्रिम भावुकता के साथ-साथ उनकी असीम देशभक्ति और राष्ट्रीयता को सुन्दर रूप में प्रकट करता है। सायण ने इस सूक्त के विविध विनियोग निर्दिष्ट किये हैं जो इसके राष्ट्रीय महत्त्व के द्योतक हैं। ग्रिफिथ ने प्रस्तुत सूक्त को पृथिवी की प्रशंसा और प्रार्थना का सूक्त माना है[१०३], तो ह्विटनी ने सामान्य रूप से इसे पृथिवी[१०४] और ब्लूमफील्ड ने पृथिवी देवी के लिये गाया गया माना है।[१०५] सातवलेकर के मत में यह विशेष प्रकार का वैदिक राष्ट्रगीत है।[१०६] मजूमदार ने भूमि-सूक्त को वैदिक भारत का राष्ट्रीय गीत माना है।[१०७] निश्चय ही इस सूक्त में पृथिवी की महत्ता और श्रेष्ठता को ध्यान में रखकर मानव द्वारा प्रथम बार भूमि में मातृभूमि की कल्पना की गयी है, जो 'राष्ट्रभूमि' की धारणा से असंपृक्त नहीं है। भूमिसूक्त की रचना-शैली भी प्रशंसनीय है। इस सम्बन्ध में ब्लूमफील्ड की समीक्षा है कि, 'यह अथर्ववेद की आकर्षक रचनाओं में एक है और यत्र तत्र उच्चकोटि की काव्य-कल्पना से संवलित है एवं वैदिक कवियों की रचनाओं में खलने वाली कृत्रिमता से अपेक्षाकृत मुक्त है।'[१०८]

उत्तम राष्ट्र की कल्पना

राष्ट्रीय भावना से अनुप्रेरित अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों ने मातृभूमि में उत्तम राष्ट्र की अभिलाषा की है। पृथिवी, जन और संस्कृति मिलकर राष्ट्र बनता है। यही क्रम राष्ट्र की उत्कृष्टता का द्योतक है। पृथिवी की भौतिक सम्पत्ति और उसके निवासियों

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१०३. *The Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* R. T. H. Griffith. Vol. II, Benares, 1917, p. 93.

१०४. *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā,* W. D. Whitney, 1962, Vol. II. p. 660.

१०५. *Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* M. Bloomfield, (S. B. E., Vol. 42), 1967, p. 199.

१०६ **अथर्ववेद का सुबोध भाष्य,** सातवलेकर, खण्ड ४, काण्ड १२, पृ० २८।

१०७. *The Vedic Age,* Dr. R. C. Majumdar, London, 1957, p. 410.

१०८. *Hymns of the Atharva-veda,* M. Bloomfield, (S. B. E., Vol. 42), 1967, p. 639;

अथर्ववेद एवं गोपथ ब्राह्मण, एम० ब्लूमफील्ड, अनु० डा० सूर्यकान्त, वाराणसी, १९६४, पृ० १८७।

के विकास की अपेक्षा उच्च संस्कृति का विकास उत्कृष्ट राष्ट्र का लक्षण है। यही राष्ट्र का प्राणतत्त्व है। इसीलिये उत्तम राष्ट्र की कामना करते हुए ऋषि की प्रार्थना है कि 'हमारी मातृभूमि हमारे उत्तम राष्ट्र में तेज और बल का आधान करे'।[१०९] राष्ट्र की सर्वोत्कृष्टता (ज्ञान-विज्ञान के) तेज और विद्वत्ता तथा पराक्रम और शक्तिमत्ता की वृद्धि पर निर्भर है। दूसरे शब्दों में राष्ट्र की उत्तमता उसके निवासियों के ब्रह्मबल और क्षत्रबल पर आश्रित है। एक दूसरे मन्त्र में राष्ट्र की श्रेष्ठता का हेतु वर्णित है, 'श्रेष्ठ राष्ट्र प्रजा से अधिक श्रेष्ठ होता है'।[११०] अतः माना जा रहा है कि प्रजा की उन्नति और श्रेष्ठता से राष्ट्र अधिक ऊँचा होता है। अन्यत्र उत्तम राष्ट्र की कल्पना करते हुए कहा गया है, 'अब वरुण, वायु और अग्नि हमारे लिये विशाल और निवास योग्य राष्ट्र बनाएँ'।[१११] यहाँ देवताओं की कृपा से उत्तम और आदर्श राष्ट्र की कामना की गई है जो सबका भरण-पोषण कर सके और विशाल भी हो। निष्कर्षतः कहा जा सकता है कि अथर्ववैदिक ऋषियों की दृष्टि में भूमि-विस्तार, महान् संस्कृति, मेधाशक्ति और क्षत्रशक्ति के सम्यक् योग से उत्तम राष्ट्र की कल्पना पूर्ण होती है। ऐसा उत्तम राष्ट्र ही उनका इष्ट और पूज्य रहा है।

राष्ट्रीय भावना से सम्बद्ध कुछ प्रमुख तत्त्व

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से सिद्ध है कि अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों में राष्ट्र की स्पष्ट धारणा बन चुकी थी। राष्ट्रीय भावना में सामान्यतः व्यक्ति के कई विचार, संवेग, आवेग और भावनाएँ राष्ट्र के प्रति सङ्गठित होती हैं। यह एक मनोभाव है, जिसकी रचना बार-बार राष्ट्र के सम्पर्क में आने और उस पर विचार करने से व्यक्ति के जीवन में धीरे-धीरे होती है। देशप्रेम से परिपूर्ण आर्यों ने स्वाभाविक रूप से यत्र-तत्र अथर्ववेदीय मन्त्रों में कतिपय भावादि कारणों का संकेत किया है, जो उनकी राष्ट्रीय भावना के प्रादुर्भाव और विकास में सहायक तत्त्व हुए।

राष्ट्रीय भावना निश्चित रूप से ऐतिहासिक विकास का फल है। देश के प्रति आदर और प्रेम का मुख्य आधार है—राष्ट्र के देदीप्यमान इतिहास का बोध। राष्ट्रीय भावना उत्पन्न करने में प्राचीन राजनीतिक इतिहास की समानता, गाथाओं द्वारा प्रकट सामान्य परम्पराएँ एवं भूतकाल की घटनाओं की स्मृतियों से सम्बद्ध गौरव-भाव का विशेष योगदान रहता है। अथर्वसंहिता में मातृभूमि की स्तुति करते

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१०९. १२।१।८।

११०. १२।३।१०।

१११. ३।८।१।

हुए उपासक ने राष्ट्रप्रेम के कारण ही अपने प्राचीन पूर्वजों के पराक्रम,[112] देवों के वीरकृत्य,[113] मननशील विद्वानों के कुशलतापूर्वक किये गये सेवा कार्य[114] और ज्ञानी ऋषियों के स्तुति कर्म[115] का आदर सहित गान किया है। उन्हें गर्व है कि उनकी मातृभूमि के सुन्दर नगरों को पहले देवों ने ही बनाया था, बसाया था,[116] वह देवों द्वारा ही प्रख्यात और प्रशंसित हुई थी।[117] स्पष्ट है कि अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों की राष्ट्रीय भावना में पूर्वपुरुषों और देवों के गौरवकृत्यों की सामान्य स्मृतियों से उत्पन्न गौरवभाव अन्तर्भूत है।

राष्ट्र के प्रति अपनेपन की भावना राष्ट्रीय भावना का अनिवार्य अङ्ग है। अथर्ववैदिक ऋषि ने मातृभूमि से स्पष्ट कहा है—'मनुष्य तुम पर ही उत्पन्न हुए हैं, तुम पर ही चलते फिरते हैं और तुम ही उन्हें धारण करती हो'।[118] धारण और रक्षण करने के कारण उन्होंने भूमि को माता और स्वयं को उसका पुत्र बताया हैं।[119] राष्ट्रभूमि माता है और राष्ट्रवासी उसके पुत्र हैं, इससे न केवल माता रूप राष्ट्र के प्रति दिव्य, अकृत्रिम और आत्यन्तिक प्रेम-सम्बन्ध की अभिव्यक्ति होती है, अपितु देश के सभी जनों में परस्पर बन्धुत्व भाव की स्थापना भी हो जाती है।

राष्ट्रवासियों की मिलकर रहने की आकांक्षा[120] अथवा उनमें परस्पर द्रोह-भाव का अभाव राष्ट्रीय भावना का मूलतत्त्व माना गया है। अतः अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों की उक्तियाँ कि—मातृभूमि के मनुष्यों के मध्य में नीचता, उच्चता रहने पर भी बहुत ही समता और ऐक्यभाव है,[121] यहाँ अनेक धर्मों के अनुयायी, अनेक भाषा-भाषी लोग एक घर में रहने वालों के समान एकता के सूत्र में बँधकर रहते हैं[122]—

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११२. १२।१।५।

११३. १२।१।५, १२।१।७, १२।१।१०।

११४. १२।१।८।

११५. १२।१।३९।

११६. १२।१।४३।

११७. १२।१।५५।

११८. १२।१।१५ (पूर्वोल्लिखित पृ० ६)।

११९. १२।१।१२।

१२०. देखिये, हॉउनर का मत, "जनता की मिलकर रहने की आकांक्षा से ही राष्ट्र बनता है।" **राज्यविज्ञान और शासन**, गार्नर, पृ० ७८ पर उद्धृत।

१२१. १२।१।२।

१२२. १२।१।४५।

इत्यादि उनकी राष्ट्रीय भावना को ही सम्पुष्ट करती हैं। एकता की सीधी कुन्जी मधुर, हितकर और प्रभावोत्पादक वाणी है।[१२३] उनकी कामना है कि हममें कोई भी किसी से द्वेष न करें।[१२४]

राष्ट्रीयता के निर्माण में सामान्य हितों एवं आदर्शों की भावना अथवा समाजशास्त्रियों के शब्दों में समचिन्तता (Like-mindedness) की भावना आवश्यक मानी गयी है।[१२५] सम्भवतः इसी दृष्टिकोण से अथर्ववेद संहिता में सभी मनुष्यों में शरीर, मन और कर्म[१२६] तथा मन और हृदय की एकता पर बल दिया गया है[१२७] और सबको एक मन बनाने की प्रार्थना की गई है।[१२८] जनों में सहृदयता, समान मनस्कता और विद्वेषशून्यता ही समानता का मूलभूत आधार है। इस दृष्टि से अथर्ववेदीय साम्मनस्य सूक्त (जैसे ३।३०, ६।९४) साम्यवाद के प्रवर्तक हैं। राष्ट्रधारणार्थ एक ओर प्रजाओं के मन, कार्य एवं सङ्कल्पों में एकता-प्राप्ति की अभिलाषा की गई है,[१२९] तो दूसरी ओर राजा उनके मन और विचारों को अपने मन और विचारों के अनुकूल बनाने की कामना व्यक्त करता है।[१३०] प्रजाओं का परस्पर सद्भाव को प्राप्त होना प्रकट करता है कि उनमें समान आदर्श और हित की भावना है; और यही राष्ट्रीयभावना को उत्पन्न करने के लिये महत्त्वपूर्ण तत्त्व है।

अथर्ववेद में बहुशः स्पृहणीय श्रेयस् 'अभय' रहा है जो स्वतन्त्रता का मनोवैज्ञानिक आधार है। सर्वविध निर्भयता की देवों से की गई प्रार्थनाओं[१३१] से स्पष्ट होता है कि अथर्ववैदिक आर्यों ने स्वतन्त्रता का विचार अर्जित कर लिया था। उन्होंने अपने इस विचार को मात्र व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता अथवा निर्भयता[१३२] तक ही सीमित नहीं रखा था अपितु उसे अप्रत्यक्षतः राष्ट्र के प्रति भी जोड़ दिया था। मन्त्रों में सार्वत्रिक शत्रुराहित्य की प्रार्थनाएँ[१३३] कृपण शत्रु-सेनाओं और द्रोहकारियों

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१२३. १२।१।५८।

१२४. १२।१।२३।

१२५. देखिये, गार्नर, वही पृ० ८५।

१२६. ६।७४।१।

१२७. ६।७४।२।

१२८. ६।७४।३।

१२९. ३।८।५।

१३०. ३।८।६।

१३१. ६।४०, १९।१४, १५, १६ इत्यादि।

१३२. १९।१५।१, ६।४०।१।

१३३. ६।४०।३, १९।१६।१।

के बिखर जाने की कामनाएँ[१३४] प्रकट करती है कि उनका अभीप्सित राष्ट्रविषयक 'अभय' भी था। निश्चय ही इस निर्भयता के विचार से आर्यों की राष्ट्रीय भावना अधिक प्रबल और समृद्ध होती है।

राष्ट्र की महत्ता और श्रेष्ठता से प्रभावित हृदय में स्वराष्ट्र के प्रति अनेकानेक उदात्त भावनाएँ उद्भूत होती हैं। ऋषि ने ऋत, सत्य आदि अनेक उत्तम तत्त्वों के साथ 'राष्ट्र' को भी उच्छिष्ट ब्रह्म में स्थित बताया है।[१३५] यही नहीं, उसके दिव्य स्वरूप से आकृष्ट होकर ही मातृभूमि की 'देवी' रूप में कल्पना की है[१३६] और अन्य वैदिक देवताओं के समान उससे कल्याण, सम्पत्ति (१२।१।६३), पेय पदार्थ (१२।१।३), अन्न (१२।१।४), धन (१२।१।६, ४०), भग और वर्चस् (१२।१।५) तथा शत्रुराहित्य (१२।१।४१) आदि की कामनाएँ व्यक्त की हैं।

राष्ट्रीय भावना एक अन्तर्जात प्रवृत्ति है। इसकी व्याख्या करना अथर्ववेदीय मन्त्रों का उद्देश्य भी नहीं है, तथापि उनमें राष्ट्रीय भाव से सम्बद्ध उपर्युक्त प्रमुख तत्त्वों की प्राप्ति से अथर्ववेद संहिता में राष्ट्रीय भावना की सत्ता सुप्रमाणित होती है।

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१३४. १२।१५।२।
१३५. ११।७।१७, देखिये ११।७।१८।
१३६. १२।१।४४; १२।१।५५।

काश्मीर-शैव-दर्शन में स्वातन्त्र्य एवं स्पन्द सिद्धान्त

डा० मिथिलेशकुमार

इलाहाबाद

The *parama-śiva* or the Absolute of Kāśmīra Śaivism is a *Śiva-Śakti-sāmarasya.* It is pure *Saṃvit.* By its freedom of will, it produces the universe as its same self and merges it in itself at it's will. It is *Viśvātmaka* as well as *Viśvottīrṇa.* The *parama Śiva* is the material as well as the efficient cause of this universe. That one though *sthira* looks like *cara.* That motion of it is called *spanda.* This universe is merely a throb of *parama Śiva.*

भारतवर्ष में दार्शनिक-प्रवृत्ति के विकास-क्रम में जहाँ एक ओर न्याय, सांख्य, योग, मीमांसा, चार्वाक, लोकायत, बौद्ध एवं जैन दर्शनों का आविर्भाव हुआ, वहीं दूसरी ओर आगम-प्रधान शैव-दर्शन भी पल्लवित-पुष्पित हुआ। समय-समय पर आगमों के माध्यम से शैव-दर्शन के विभिन्न रूपों—द्वैत शैव, द्वैताद्वैत-शैव और अद्वैत-शैवदर्शन का आविर्भाव हुआ, जिनके आविर्भावक क्रमशः अमर्दक, श्रीनाथ तथा त्र्यम्बकादित्य थे, जो भगवान् शिव की आज्ञा के फलस्वरूप प्रकट हुये थे।[1] शैवदर्शन की द्वैत एवं द्वैताद्वैत शाखाओं का विकास दक्षिण भारत में पाशुपत, वीरशैव इत्यादि रूपों में हुआ। किन्तु अद्वैत प्रधान शैवदर्शन कश्मीर में ही अपने चरम विकास पर पहुँचा। इसलिए शैवदर्शन की इस शाखा को प्रत्यभिज्ञा, त्रिक इत्यादि नामों के साथ ही काश्मीर-शैवदर्शन की संज्ञा से भी अभिहित किया गया।

काश्मीर-शैवदर्शन में परमशिव को परिपूर्ण संवित् से सम्पन्न अनुत्तर तत्त्व स्वीकार किया गया है। परमशिव अपने परिपूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य से कभी पृथ्वी तत्त्व से लेकर शिवतत्त्व पर्यन्त सभी तत्त्वों को प्रकट करके जगतादि की सृष्टि करता है और कभी अपने ही स्वातन्त्र्य से उन सभी तत्त्वों को अपने में ही विलीन करके एकात्म-भाव से अवस्थित हो जाता है।

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१. श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठनाथाज्ञावशात् सिद्धा अवातरन्।।३६।११।।
त्र्यम्बकामर्दकाभिख्यश्रीनाथा अद्वये द्वये
द्वयाद्वये च निपुणाः क्रमेण शिवशासने।। तन्त्रालोक ३६।१२।।

आचार्य उत्पलदेव ने 'शिवस्तोत्रावलि' में परमतत्त्व को सदसद्-विलक्षण अनिर्वचनीय तत्त्व निरूपित किया है।[२] परमशिव के इस अनिर्वचनीय स्वरूप के मुख्यतया दो पहलू हैं। वे हैं विश्वोत्तीर्णता और विश्वमयता। दूसरे शब्दों में कह सकते हैं कि परमशिव की प्रधानता कहीं शिव रूप में और कहीं शक्ति-रूप में देखी जाती है, और कहीं शिवशक्ति इन दोनों ही रूपों में देखी जाती है। पारमार्थिक-दृष्टि से परमशिव और इस त्रिलोकी में कोई भेद नहीं है।[३] किन्तु व्यावहारिक दृष्टि में उस परमशिव को न तो 'यह' कहा जा सकता है, न 'वह' कहा जा सकता है, न 'यह नहीं है' और न 'वह नहीं है' ऐसा कहा जा सकता है।[४] तात्पर्य यह है कि काश्मीर-शैवदर्शन के अनुसार परमतत्त्व स्वरूप परमशिव परिपूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य से युक्त अनुत्तर तत्त्व है।

काश्मीर-शैवदर्शन के विभिन्न दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तों में स्वातन्त्र्य एवं स्पन्द सिद्धान्तों का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है, क्योंकि इन्हीं सिद्धान्तों में इस दर्शन की ब्रह्मादि विषयक महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रक्रियायें अन्तर्निहित हैं। अतः यहाँ पर इन्हीं सिद्धान्तों का वर्णन किया जा रहा है।

स्वातन्त्र्य सिद्धान्त

इस सिद्धान्त के अनुसार आभासमान समस्त जड़-जंगमात्मक जगत् का मूल परमशिव का स्वातन्त्र्य ही है। परमशिव, अपने स्वातन्त्र्य से, बिना किसी उपादान की अपेक्षा किये अपने स्वरूप से सर्वथा अभिन्न जगत् को भिन्न हुए की तरह प्रकट करता है। वह वेदान्त के 'ब्रह्म' की भाँति 'अविद्या' आदि की अपेक्षा के बिना ही अपने स्वातन्त्र्य से समस्त जागतिक कृत्यों को चलाता रहता है।[५] परमशिव का यह स्वरूप 'प्रकाशविमर्शात्मक' होता है। संसार में रहने वाले प्रत्येक प्राणी को अपनी सत्ता का आभास होता है। इस चेतना का आधार स्वात्म-प्रकाश ही होता है। अतः

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२. सतोऽवश्यं परमसत्सच्च तस्मात्परं प्रभो।
त्वं चासतस्सतश्चान्यस्तेनासि सदसन्मयः ॥ —शिवस्तो० ३।१८

३. क्वचिदेव भवान्क्वचिद्भवानी, सकलार्थक्रमगर्भिणी प्रधाना।
परमार्थपदे तु नैव देव्या, भवतो नापि जगत्त्रयस्य भेदः ॥
—शिवस्तो० १८।२

४. अभिनवगुप्त—ऐन हिस्टॉरिकल एण्ड फिलॉसाफिलकल स्टडी—के० सी० पाण्डेय पृ० ३२।

५. स्वेच्छया न तु ब्रह्मादिवत् अन्येच्छया, तथैव च न तु उपादानाद्युपेक्षया.... एवं हि प्रागुक्तस्वातन्त्र्यहान्या चित्त्वमेव न घटेत....स्वभित्तौ, न तु अन्यत्र क्वापि प्राक् निर्णीतं विश्वं दर्पणे नगरवत् अभिन्नमपि भिन्नमिव उन्मीलयति।—भास्करी।

'प्रकाश' एक प्रकार की चेतना ही है, जिसके बिना 'अहं' की प्रतीति असम्भव है। प्रकाश-रूप चेतना के ही बल पर अबोध बच्चे में वक्तृत्वशक्ति का प्रादुर्भाव होता है।[६] वस्तुतः 'अहं' शुद्ध प्रकाश स्वरूप होता है। समस्त मन, बुद्धि इत्यादि बाह्येन्द्रियाँ इसी 'अहं' रूप चेतना के प्रकाश से ही प्रकाशित होती हैं। परमशिव के इस प्रकाशात्मक रूप की तुलना विविध प्रतिबिम्बों को धारण करने वाले स्फटिक या दर्पण जैसे पदार्थों से की जा सकती है। जिस प्रकार समस्त पदार्थों को अपने में प्रतिबिम्बित करने वाली स्फटिक-शिला में उन पदार्थों के प्रकट होते रहने पर भी उस शिला के स्वरूप में कोई विकार नहीं होता, उसी प्रकार परमशिव समस्त सांसारिक पदार्थों को अपने में प्रतिबिम्बित करता हुआ भी सर्वथा शुद्ध एवं निर्लेप ही बना रहता है।[७] किन्तु दोनों में भेद यह है कि स्वयं में आभासित पदार्थों की अनुभूति स्फटिक को नहीं होती, क्योंकि उसको स्वात्म प्रकाश की अनुभूति नहीं होती। स्फटिक को स्वात्मानुभूति न होने का कारण जडत्व है। स्वात्मप्रकाशयुक्त प्रत्येक प्राणी को अपनी सत्ता के आभास के साथ ही उस सत्ता की प्रतीति भी होती है। यह प्रतीति 'मैं हूँ' इस रूप में होती है। इस ढङ्ग की प्रतीति ही 'विमर्श' कहलाती है। यह 'विमर्श' ही परमशिव का स्वातन्त्र्य कहलाता है। क्योंकि परमशिव को इस विमर्शात्मक क्रिया के प्रतिपादन में किसी अन्य शक्ति का सहारा नहीं लेना पड़ता। विमर्श के अभाव में प्रकाश अपूर्ण है। अतः 'प्रकाश' और 'विमर्श' अन्योन्याश्रित हैं। परमशिव का प्रकाशविमर्शात्मक स्वरूप सामान्य चेतन प्राणी के प्रकाश, विमर्श से भिन्न है। परमशिव का विमर्श 'मैं ही यह समस्त जगत् हूँ'—इस रूप का होता है।[८] परमशिव अपने प्रकाशविमर्शमय स्वरूप में विश्वोत्तीर्ण भी है और विश्वमय भी। उसके इन दोनों में कभी तो विश्वोत्तीर्ण अर्थात् शिव-भाव की प्रधानता होती है, और कभी विश्वमय दशा में समस्त घट-पटादि बाह्य पदार्थों से युक्त पराशक्ति की प्रधानता होती है किन्तु पारमार्थिक दृष्टि से इन दोनों स्वरूपों की परिपूर्ण सामरस्य अवस्था शुद्ध और परिपूर्ण संवित् के सिवा कुछ भी नहीं है।[९]

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६. ....बालोऽपि हि प्रकाशविश्रान्तिमेव संवेदयते।

—भास्करी पृ० ७५।

७. नानाविधवर्णानां रूपं धत्ते यथाऽमलः स्फटिकः।
सुरमानुषपशुपादपः रूपत्वं तद्वदीशोऽपि॥

—परमार्थसारकारिका ६।

८. सर्वाभासावभासो यो विमर्शवलितोऽपि सन्।
अहमेतदिति स्तौमि तं क्रियाशक्तिमीश ते॥

—शिवस्तो० २०।१६।

९. शिवस्तो० १८।२।

परमशिव सदैव शुद्ध संवित् स्वरूप ही होता है। वह मायाकार जगत् के मध्य रहते हुए भी इसके विकारों से सर्वथा निर्लिप्त है।[10] अतः परमशिव की शुद्ध संवित् ही उसके स्वातन्त्र्य से विभिन्न रूपों में अवभासित होती है।[11] परमशिव अपने स्वातन्त्र्य से सृष्टि, स्थिति एवं संहार की लीला अपने परमेश्वरात्मक स्वभाव से चलाता रहता है।[12] इस प्रकार शैव मत में जो कुछ भी भासित होता है, वह सब परमशिव के स्वातन्त्र्य का ही परिणाम है। शैवमत में जड़, चेतन सब कुछ शुद्ध संवित् ही है, इसलिए परमशिव को अनेक शक्तियों का उद्गम स्रोत माना गया है। यद्यपि वह एक ही अनुत्तर तत्त्व है, तथापि जगत् की सृष्टि एवं उसके कार्यों को समुचित रूप से चलाने के लिए वह अपनी स्वातन्त्र्य-शक्ति से शिव से लेकर पृथ्वी तक के समस्त छत्तीस तत्त्वों की सृष्टि करता है। यही छत्तीस तत्त्व देहादि के आधार होते हैं, किन्तु इनकी पारमार्थिक सत्ता शुद्ध संवित् ही होती है। ये तत्त्व परमशिव के स्वतन्त्र्य से उसकी परिपूर्ण संवित् रूपी आग में जलकर नष्ट भी हो जाते हैं।[13] तत्त्वों की संख्या के सम्बन्ध में आचार्य उत्पलदेव, आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त के दृष्टिकोण परस्पर भिन्न हैं परन्तु यह भिन्नता सिद्धान्त पक्ष और साधना पक्ष की दृष्टि से है। आचार्य उत्पलदेव ३६ तत्त्वों को मानते हैं, जब कि आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ३८ तत्त्वों को मानते हैं, किन्तु इन समस्त तत्त्वों में शिव, शक्ति तत्त्व को ही प्रधानता मिली है। शक्ति का परिपूर्ण सामरस्य ही परमशिव है। प्रकाशात्मक 'शिवता' परमशिव की ज्ञानस्वरूपता है तथा विमर्शात्मक शक्तिता उसकी क्रियास्वरूपता। इन्हीं दोनों रूपों में वह जगत् रूपी रंगमंच पर सफल अभिनय करता रहता है। यह उसके स्वातन्त्र्य का ही माहात्म्य है।

परमशिव अपने परिपूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य से जीव रूप में प्रकट होता है, किन्तु जीव

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१०. मायामयजगत्सान्द्रपङ्कमध्याधिवासिने।
अलेपाय नमः शम्भुशतपत्राय शोभिने॥
—शिवस्तो० २।१५॥

११. ततः संविदेव विश्वात्मनि भासयति शक्तिवैचित्र्यात्।
—भास्करी, वाल्यूम २ पृ० १५७।

१२. सदा सृष्टिविनोदाय सदा स्थितिसुखासिने।
सदा त्रिभुवनाहारतृप्ताय भवते नमः॥ —शिवस्तो० २०।९।

१३. कोऽप्यसौ जयति स्वामिन्भवत्पूजामहोत्सवः।
षट्त्रिंशतोऽपि तत्त्वानां क्षोभो यत्रोल्लसत्यलम्॥ —वही, १७।३०।

रूप में प्रकट होने पर उसकी परमेश्वरता में कोई विकार नहीं आता। जिस प्रकार बीज के अन्दर विशाल वृक्ष निहित है, उसी प्रकार परमशिव के अन्दर समस्त चराचर जगत् विद्यमान रहता है।[१४] परमशिव जब चाहता है, तब अपने स्वातन्त्र्य से सृष्टि, स्थिति, एवं संहार इत्यादि लीलाओं को चलाने लगता है। अतः जगत् को परमशिव की स्वतन्त्र इच्छा का विलास कहा जा सकता है, किन्तु यह विलास सांख्य-दर्शन के परिणामवाद से भिन्न है। सांख्य के परिणामवाद में विकृति है, किन्तु काश्मीर-शैवदर्शन के परिणाम में कोई विकृति नहीं है। परमशिव से भिन्न आभासमान भी समस्त जड़ चेतन जगत् परमशिव ही है, उससे भिन्न कुछ भी नहीं है।[१५] इस प्रकार संसार की प्रत्येक वस्तु में ज्ञान और क्रिया शक्ति से सम्पन्न चित्स्वरूप परमेश्वर ही आत्मा है। वही इन वस्तुओं का वास्तविक स्वरूप है, अन्यथा इन सांसारिक पदार्थों की सत्ता ही नहीं होती।[१६]

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि परमशिव अपने प्रकाश विमर्शात्मक स्वरूप से सदैव सृष्टि संहार इत्यादि कार्यों को चलाता रहता है। यही उसकी परमेश्वरता है। यही उसका स्वातन्त्र्य है। उसका यह स्वातन्त्र्य सदैव पांच प्रकार से कार्य करता है, जिसको—सृष्टि, स्थिति, संहार, पिधान एवं अनुग्रह इस क्रम में रखा जा सकता है।[१७] इनको परमशिव के पंचकृत्य भी कहते हैं। शैव दर्शन की सृष्टि को परिभाषित करते हुए डॉ० बलजिन्नाथ पण्डित ने लिखा है कि 'स्वच्छ स्फटिक जैसे अपने प्रकाश के भीतर सामान्याकार विश्व को प्रतिबिम्बित की शैली में अपने से भिन्न रूप में अवभासित करने की लीला को सृष्टि कहते हैं'।[१८] सृष्टि की रचना में परमशिव शाम्भव, शक्तिज, मन्त्रमहेश्वर, मन्त्रेश्वर एवं मन्त्र इन पाँच रूपों में प्रकट होता है,

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१४. यथान्यग्रोधबीजस्थः शक्तिरूपो महाद्रुमः।
तथा हृदयबीजस्थविश्वमेतद्चराचरम्॥

१५. भवदावेशतः पश्यन् भावं भावं भवन्मयम्।
विचरेयं निराकाङ्क्षः प्रहर्षपरिपूरितः॥ शिवस्तो० ६।५।

१६. ज्ञानकर्ममयचिद्वपुरात्मा सर्वथैष परमेश्वर एव।
स्याद्वपुस्तु निखिलेषु पदार्थेष्वेषु नाम न भवेत्किमुतान्यत्॥
—शिवस्तो० १९।३।

१७. श्रीमत्स्वच्छन्दादिशासनोक्तनीत्या सदा पञ्चविधिकृत्यकारित्व चिदात्मनो भगवतः। —प्रत्यभिज्ञाहृदय, पृ० ६२-६४।

१८. डॉ० बलजिन्नाथ पण्डित—काश्मीर शैव दर्शन।

किन्तु ये तत्त्व शरीरादि से भिन्न रहते हैं।[१९] अतः यह सृष्टि विशुद्ध सृष्टि कहलाती है। इसके बाद अशुद्ध सृष्टि एवं गुणमयीसृष्टि की रचना होती है। जगत् की सृष्टि के अनन्तर उसकी व्यवस्था को सुचारू रूप से चलाने का नाम स्थिति है। समस्त चराचर जगत् को अपनी पारमेश्वरी इच्छा से अपने में ही समाहित कर लेने की क्रिया को संहार कहते हैं। अपने प्रकाशात्मक स्वरूप को तिरोहित कर जीवभाव में प्रकट होने की क्रिया को पिधान या निग्रह कृत्य कहते हैं। अपने विस्मृत स्वरूप को गुरु, शास्त्र की कृपा से पुनः पहचान कर एकात्म भाव से स्थित हो जाने की क्रिया को अनुग्रह लीला कहते हैं। परमेश्वर के अनुग्रह से जब शुद्ध विद्या के द्वारा यह निश्चित हो जाता है कि सत् असत् इत्यादि सभी पदार्थ शिव रूप ही हैं, तब सृष्टि, स्थिति, संहार इत्यादि नाटक समाप्त हो जाता है, और सर्वत्र परमशिव का प्रकाशात्मक रूप ही दीखता है।[२०]

इस प्रकार समस्त जागतिक लीलाओं के एकमात्र हेतु सिद्ध होने के कारण 'परमशिव' ही एकमात्र सत्य तत्त्व है। सब कुछ उसी के स्वातन्त्र्य की लीला है। अपने शुद्ध संवित् स्वरूप को भूलकर जगतादि रूप में प्रकट होने में एवं अपने भुलाये हुये स्वरूप को पहचान कर अपने प्रकाशात्मक रूप में स्थित होने में वह पूर्ण स्वतन्त्र एवं समर्थ है।

स्पन्द सिद्धान्त

स्वातन्त्र्य सिद्धान्त के विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट है कि परमशिव का प्रकाशविमर्शात्मक स्वरूप शुद्ध संवित् ही है। वह दो भावों में प्रकट होता रहता है। एक है उसका स्थिर भाव, जिसमें वह सदैव शुद्ध संविद्रूप ही बना रहता है। दूसरा है चर भाव जिसमें वह विविध ब्रह्माण्डों की सृष्टि, स्थिति आदि कृत्यों के रूप में भी प्रकट होता रहता है। वह स्थिर रहता हुआ भी चर जैसा आभासित होता रहता है। उस अचल की इस चलता जैसी अभिव्यक्ति को 'स्पन्द' कहते हैं। इसी के द्वारा पंचकृत्यों की लीला का अभिनय होता रहता है। उस अनुत्तर परमशिव के शिवता और शक्तिता के दो पार्श्व होते हैं। इन दोनों पार्श्वों में से शक्तिता के अन्तर्गत

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१९. शाम्भवाः शक्तिजाः मन्त्रमहेशाः मन्त्रनायकाः।
मन्त्रा इति विशुद्धाः स्युरमी पञ्चगणाः क्रमात्॥
—तन्त्रालोक ६।५२।

२०. सर्वमस्य परमस्ति न किञ्चिद्, वस्त्ववस्तु यदि वेति महत्त्या।
प्रज्ञया व्यवसितोऽत्र यथैव, त्वं तथैव भव सुप्रकटो मे॥
—शिवस्तो० ४।९

स्वातन्त्र्य, कर्तृत्व, स्फुरत्ता, सार, हृदय, स्पन्द इत्यादि अनेकों प्रकार की विशेषताओं का समावेश होता है, जिनके द्वारा परमशिव जगत् रूपी विशाल क्रीडाङ्गन में सृष्टि, संहारादि की लीलाओं को चलाता है। इनमें से स्पन्द-शक्ति अतीव महत्त्वपूर्ण है। इसी के द्वारा परमशिव अपनी असीम परमेश्वरता को प्रकट करता रहता है। उसकी यह परमेश्वरता अपूर्व होती है। इसी के बल पर वह विविध-विध जागतिक लीलाओं को संचालित करता रहता है।[२१] वास्तव में उससे भिन्न कुछ भी नहीं है। इसीलिये शैव दर्शन सांख्य दर्शन के जगत् की वास्तविकता के सिद्धान्त से तो सहमत है किन्तु उसके द्वैतवाद से असहमत है क्योंकि वह अपने आप में पराद्वैत है। इसी प्रकार वह वेदान्त के जगत् ब्रह्मैक्य को तो स्वीकार करता है, किन्तु उसकी जगत् की मिथ्यात्व की धारणा को असंगत ठहराता है। उसके अनुसार जगत् का मूलरूप उस परमशिव की शक्तिता में बीजरूप में उसी प्रकार विद्यमान रहता है, जिस प्रकार विशाल वृक्ष एक छोटे से बीज में विद्यमान रहता है। वेदान्त ब्रह्म को स्पन्दहीन, शान्त स्वभाव मानता है, किन्तु शैवाचार्य परमशिव को गतिशील मानते हैं। यह गतिशीलता इच्छा, ज्ञान, क्रियाशक्ति के रूप में उसके स्वभाव की ही अभिव्यक्ति है।[२२]

काश्मीर शैव दर्शन में परमशिव को शान्त नहीं माना गया। यदि वह शान्त होता, तो समस्त शक्तियों का एवं जगत् का एकमात्र अधिष्ठाता न होता। उसमें एक प्रकार की हलचल होती है। वही हलचल उसका स्पन्द कहलाती है। अपने शुद्ध प्रकाश में अधिष्ठित परमशिव की यही हलचल या स्पन्द ही उसे अन्तर्मुखी और बहिर्मुखी गति से क्रमशः विश्वोत्तीर्णता और विश्वमयता की ओर प्रेरित करती है। यह स्पन्दन सदैव ही उसमें विद्यमान रहता है। स्पन्द की अन्तर्मुखी गति में अर्थात् शिवता की स्थिति में प्राणों का संचार होता है और स्पन्द की बहिर्मुखी गति में सांसारिक जीवन का पूर्णतया आभास होने लगता है। यह स्थिति परमशिव की

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२१. परमेश्वरता जयत्यपूर्वा
तव विश्वेश यदीशितव्यशून्या।
अपरापि तथैव ते ययेदं
जगदाभाति यथा तथा न भाति॥

—शिवस्तो० १६।३०

२२. इच्छा-ज्ञान, क्रियाशक्तिस्वभावमेव, न पुनः शान्तब्रह्मवादिनामिव शक्तिविरहितं जडकल्पम्। अन्यच्च अनन्तशक्तिपरिपूर्णम् इति।

—परमार्थसार, पृ० ३२

शक्तिता की स्थिति होती है।[२३] स्पन्द को इन स्थितियों को समन्वित रूप में परमशिव का प्रकाश, विमर्श भी कहा जाता है। प्रकाश, विमर्श के बिना अधूरा रहता है और विमर्श प्रकाश के बिना। इस प्रकार प्रकाश, विमर्श परस्पर अभिन्न हैं। प्रकाश विमर्श की भूमिका सर्वथा अभेद की भूमिका होती है। सदाशिव-ईश्वर तत्त्वों की भूमिका भेदाभेद की भूमिका होती है। उस भूमिका में 'अहन्ता' के साथ ही 'इदन्ता' का भी आभास होता है। किन्तु 'इदन्ता' के रूप में आभासित होने पर भी 'अहन्ता' में कोई विकृति नहीं आती।[२४] इस दशा में अहन्ता और इदन्ता में परस्पर अभेद की प्रतीति भी होती है अतः इस अवस्था को भेदाभेद की अवस्था कहा जाता है। इसी को काश्मीर-शैव दर्शन में शुद्ध-विद्या-दशा भी कहते हैं तथा इसी अवस्था को परापरदशा भी कहा जाता है।[२५] इस अवस्था में जगत् की तथा स्वयं की अनुभूति 'मैं वह हूँ' तथा 'वह मैं हूँ' इस रूप में होती है। भेदाभेद या शुद्धविद्याभूमिका की उत्तरकालीन दशा 'माया भूमिका' कहलाती है। इसे स्पन्द की तीसरी भूमिका कहा जा सकता है। माया के सम्बन्ध में वेदान्त और शैव-दर्शन में पर्याप्त विभेद है। वेदान्तियों के अनुसार माया भौतिक जगत् का आदि कारण तथा ब्रह्म की उपाधि है। इसे न तो सत् कहा जा सकता है और न असत्। यह सदसत् विलक्षण है। इसके विपरीत काश्मीरशैवदर्शन में माया विभिन्न अर्थों में प्रयुक्त हुई है। उसके अनुसार माया कोई उपाधि नहीं है, बल्कि परमशिव की अपनी विभिन्न शक्तियों में से एक शक्ति ही है। सृष्टि के समय जब शिव अपनी माया शक्ति को आभिमुख्यतया ठहराता है, तब वह मायाशक्ति कहलाती है। जब संसार के रूप में इसका आभासन होता है तब यह मायातत्त्व के रूप में जानी जाती है और जब यह विभिन्न रूपों में अवभासित होती है, तब यह माया-ग्रन्थि कहलाती है।[२६]

इस प्रकार माया उन अवभासों को कहते हैं, जो अनुपपन्न है।[२७] माया-

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२३. यदयमनुत्तरमूर्तिर्निजेच्छया निखिलमिदं जगत् स्रष्टुम्।
पस्पन्दे स स्पन्दः प्रथमः शिवतत्त्वमुच्यते तज्ज्ञैः॥

—तत्त्वसन्दोह–१।

२४. बहीरूपतया आभासनेऽपि अहन्तारूपता न त्रुट्यति।

२५. ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी ३-१।

२६. एल० एन० शर्मा—'काश्मीर शैविज्म, पृ० २९२।

२७. अनुपपन्नं अवभासमानं माया इति उच्यते।........

—ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी-४।१८।

भूमिका में जब परमशिव स्पन्दन करता है, तब जगत् उस परमेश्वर से पूर्णरूपेण अलग प्रतीत होता है। इस अवस्था में वह विभिन्न रूपों में अवभासित होता है।

अतः कहा जा सकता है कि परमशिव अपने स्पन्दन अथवा विमर्शन से सृष्टि, स्थिति, संहार जैसी लीलाओं को चलाता रहता है। अपने से भिन्न जगत् को प्रकट करना, उसे अपने में समाहित कर लेना उसके स्पन्दन का ही माहात्म्य है।[२८] उसके स्वरूप का यह संकोच, विकास उसके उन्मेष निमेष नामक क्रियाओं के बल पर होता है। उसके उन्मेष से क्रियाशक्ति के संहार से स्वरूप विकास होने पर जगत् का प्रलय तथा निमेष अर्थात् क्रियाशक्ति के प्रसृत होने पर स्वरूप संकोच होने पर जगत् का उद्भव होता है।[२९] यह सभी क्रियायें परमशिव के परिपूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य से होती हैं। उसके परिपूर्ण स्वातन्त्र्य की छलकन ही स्पन्दन है। डा० बलजिन्नाथ पण्डित के अनुसार "परमशिव चैतन्य के आनन्द का मानों एक समुद्र है जो सर्वथा परिपूर्ण है, परिपूर्णता के अतिशय से वह छलकता सा है। उसकी इस छलकन से आनन्द रस की बूंदें जब इधर-उधर द्वैत के क्षेत्रों में बिखर जाती हैं तो वही जमकर अनन्त कोटि ब्राह्माण्डों के रूप में अभिव्यक्त हो जाती हैं।[३०] वह अपने स्फुरण से अपने चिद्रूप में भासित होते ही सारे जगत् को विकसित कर देता है।[३१] तभी तो उसके इस स्पन्दात्मक स्वभाव को स्फुरत्ता अर्थात् फड़कन भी कहा जाता है। इसके इस स्वरूप को एक प्रकार की गतिशीलता के रूप में भी अभिव्यक्त किया गया है।[३२]

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२८. यस्योन्मेषनिमेषाभ्यां जगतः प्रलयादयौ।
तं शक्तिचक्रविभवं प्रभवं शंकरं स्तुमः।।

—स्पन्दकारिका-१।

२९. वही।

३०. डॉ० बलजिन्नाथ पण्डित—काश्मीर शैवदर्शन, पृ० ८२।

३१. स्फारयस्यखिलमात्मना स्फुरन्
विश्वमामृशसि रूपमामृशन्।
यत्स्वयं निजरसेन घूर्णसे
तत्समुल्लसति भावमण्डलम्।।

—शिवस्तो० १३।१५।

३२. स्पन्दनं च किञ्चिच्चलनम् स्वरूपाच्च यदि वस्त्वन्तराक्रमणं तच्चलनमेव न किञ्चित्त्वम्"......परात्रिंशिकाविवरण, पृ० २०७।

इस प्रकार समस्त जड़-चेतन जगत् में परमशिव के सिवा कुछ भी नहीं है। समस्त प्रपञ्चों को जन्म देता हुआ भी वह इन सबसे परे है। उसकी अनन्त शक्तियाँ अनन्त रूपों में उसके स्पन्दन के प्रभाव से ही प्रकट होती रहती हैं।[३३] इसीलिए काश्मीर शैवदर्शन को आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ने पराद्वैतदर्शन कहा है।[३४]

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३३. प्रपञ्चोत्तीर्णरूपाय नमस्ते विश्वमूर्तये।
सदानन्दप्रकाशाय स्वात्मनेऽनन्तशक्तये॥

—महोपदेशविंशतिकम्।

३४. डा० बलजिन्नाथ पण्डित—वही, पृ० ८४।

कश्मीर का साहित्यशास्त्रीय वाङ्मय

डॉ० सूर्यनारायण द्विवेदी

वाराणसी

The Ācāryas of Kashmir have made great contributions in the field of Indian Literary Criticism. A thorough study and reassessment of their contributions by scholars are required.

साहित्य मानवीय चेतना का अप्रतिम वरदान है, जो वाग्देवता की अनुकम्पा से समय-समय पर शब्द और अर्थ के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्ति-पथ पर अवतरित होता रहा है, जिसमें न केवल उसके ज्ञान ने अभिवृद्धि की है अपितु शत-शत धाराओं में उसे नित्य-नूतन बने रहने में भी निरन्तर सहयोग दिया है। यह सहयोग यश-प्राप्ति, अर्थोपलब्धि, व्यवहार, ज्ञान, अमंगल-विनाश और तत्काल आह्लाद की उपलब्धि के रूप में अनवरत मानव-समाज को सम्पदा बनता रहा है। साहित्य की रचना-प्रक्रिया पदार्थाश्रित कम और भावाश्रित अधिक है, फिर भी मानव-मनीषा ने समय-समय पर विश्लेषण के आधार पर उसमें निहित नियमों और सिद्धान्तों को प्राप्त करने का प्रयास किया है। ऐसे प्रयासों की भारत और शेष विश्व में पर्याप्त लम्बी परम्परा मिलती है जिसे साहित्य-विद्या, साहित्य-शास्त्र, काव्य-शास्त्र, काव्यानुशासन "लिटरेरी क्रिटिसिज्म" जैसी अभिख्याएँ दी गई हैं।

भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्र का जो रूप आज उपलब्ध है उसकी संरचना में योग देने वाली विशिष्ट प्रतिभाओं से सम्बद्ध प्रायः काश्मीर, मध्य-देश, गुर्जर, बंग, कलिंग और दक्षिण भारत का नाम विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है, जिन्होंने समय-समय पर काव्य से सम्बद्ध सिद्धान्तों और अवयवों को सुविचारित शास्त्र का आकार दिया है। इनमें से भामह, उद्भट, वामन, रुद्रट, आनन्द, कुन्तक, लोल्लट, शंकुक, भट्टनायक, अभिनवगुप्त, क्षेमेन्द्र, मम्मट, रुय्यक और नागभट्ट, आदि आचार्यों ने कश्मीर से सम्बद्ध, राजशेखर और हेमचन्द्र आदि गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र से, दण्डी और अप्पय दीक्षित, दक्षिण भारत से, विश्वनाथ, विद्यानाथ और विद्याधर आदि बंग और कलिंग से, जयदेव और पण्डितराज आदि मध्यदेश से सम्बद्ध हैं। उपर्युक्त सूची से स्पष्ट है कि साहित्यशास्त्र के क्षेत्र में सबसे लम्बी परम्परा का सम्बन्ध कश्मीर से है। अपने

महत्त्वपूर्ण अवदान के कारण भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्र में इसने अपना स्थान बना लिया है।

साहित्य-शास्त्र मूलतः स्रष्टा (रचनाकार), सहृदय और सृष्टि (साहित्य) इन परस्पर अन्वित तीन तत्त्वों के विश्लेषण का शास्त्र है जिसमें सहृदय और रचनाकार क्रमशः अपनी भावयित्री और कारयित्री शक्ति के बल पर तीसरे बिन्दु साहित्य की अनुभूति और संरचना से सम्बद्ध होते हैं। अतएव सृष्टि (साहित्य) के सम्बन्ध में परिचर्चा के क्रम में उन दोनों की भी परस्पराश्रयता स्वतः सिद्ध है। रचनाकार के बिना-सृष्टि संभव नहीं, अनुभविता के बिना साहित्य-सम्पदा का आकार-धारण सार्थक नहीं हो सकता। अतएव साहित्य-शास्त्र में जाने-अनजाने सहृदय और रचनाकार से सम्बद्ध विमर्श तो निरन्तर अन्वित रहते ही हैं, साथ ही अनिवार्य रूप से सृष्टि का विश्लेषण वहाँ विमर्श-तत्त्व सम्पदा के रूप में सामने लाया जाता है। कश्मीर की आचार्य-प्रज्ञाओं ने इन तीनों बिन्दुओं पर अपनी धारणाएँ बहुत ही स्पष्ट ढंग से प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयत्न किया है।

यद्यपि कश्मीर की आचार्य-प्रज्ञाओं का सैद्धान्तिक प्रयास साहित्य-तत्त्व पर विचार करते समय लगभग बराबर सहृदय को केन्द्र में रखकर चलता रहा है क्योंकि साहित्य का सारा व्यापार सहृदयों के चित्त को आह्लादित करने के लिए ही देखा जाता है। रचनाकार भी यदि रचना में प्रवृत्त होता है तो सहृदयता का गुणविशेष ही उसकी रचना-शक्ति को प्रभावित करता है, फिर भी रचनाकार को लक्ष्य करके कश्मीर के आचार्यों ने संक्षेप में ही सही, उसके महत्त्वपूर्ण वैशिष्ट्य की ओर संकेत अवश्य किया है। यहाँ साहित्य का रचनाकार उनकी दृष्टि में अपनी सृष्टि का प्रजापति होता है। वृत्ति और संस्कार के बल पर ऐसा रूप प्रदान करना कि वह उत्तरोत्तर आने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिए भी नया-नया लगे, वह प्रयत्नशील होता है। ऐसे कार्यों में उसकी कारयित्री शक्ति साधक, शब्द और अर्थ साधन तथा साहित्य साध्य होता है। रचनाकार कश्मीरी आचार्यों की दृष्टि में ऐसा विशिष्ट व्यक्तित्व होता है जो अपनी संरचना के द्वारा लोक को प्रभावित करता है और कभी-कभी संरचना को यथार्थता देने के लिए लोक से प्रभाव ग्रहण करता है किन्तु यह सब कुछ भावात्मक और विचारात्मक तत्त्व उसके शब्द के माध्यम से ही बूझा-समझा जा सकता है। इस प्रकार उनकी दृष्टि में रचनाकार एक ऐसी शक्ति है जो भावना, कल्पना, विचार, संस्कार सबका उचित सम्मिश्रण करते हुए एक अनन्य परतन्त्र साहित्य-सम्पदा को आकर्षक रूप में उकेरने में समर्थ होता है। कश्मीरी आचार्यों ने इस दिशा में यद्यपि बहुत सूक्ष्म संकेत दिए हैं फिर भी उनके बल पर साहित्य के स्रष्टा के स्वरूप को समझना बहुत हद तक सम्भव है।

सृजन शक्ति पर ही अवलम्बित होता है। शक्ति के बिना न तो सृष्टि सम्भावित है और न उसका विस्तार ही। साहित्य की रचना पर विश्लेषण करने

वाले विचारकों से यह बात छिपी नहीं है। आचार्य भामह से लेकर रुय्यक तक की जो परम्परा उपलब्ध है उसमें जगह-जगह कारयित्री-शक्ति का स्थल-स्थल पर संकेत और चमत्कार उपलब्ध है जो इस बात का प्रमाण है कि आचार्यों की दृष्टि इस विशिष्ट-तत्त्व की ओर गई थी और जहाँ तक सम्भव हो पाया इनकी विभिन्न भूमिकाओं का भी उल्लेख करते हुए उन्होंने अपनी सारग्राहिणी प्रज्ञा का परिचय दिया है।

सहृदय ही साहित्य का बोद्धा होता है, साहित्य उसी के लिए लिखा जाता है। जिस साहित्य पर सहृदय की अनुभूति सही नहीं करती वास्तव में साहित्य कहलाने का अधिकारी ही नहीं है। कश्मीरी आचार्यों ने पग-पग पर सहृदय की अनुभूति को केन्द्रीय बिन्दु के रूप में स्वीकार किया है जिसके द्वारा रचना की उच्चता और निम्नता का मूल्यांकन सम्भव है। यही क्यों इन आचार्यो ने सहृदय की प्रतिभा (भावयित्रीशक्ति), सहृदय की योग्यता (क्षमता) सहृदय, की अनुभूति की प्रक्रिया, सहृदयता से सम्बद्ध विघ्न, सहृदयता के स्तर, सहृदयों के प्रकार, रचना के द्वारा प्रभावित होने की ओर रचनाकार को प्रभावित करने की स्थितियों पर भी संक्षेप में ही सही इतना स्पष्ट विमर्श प्रस्तुत किया है कि उनके निष्कर्षों को देखकर आश्चर्य होता है।

रचना के आकार लेने में संघटक तत्त्वों का बहुत अधिक महत्त्व होता है। कश्मीरी-आचार्यों ने साहित्य सम्पदा के जिन विशिष्ट तत्त्वों को विचार के लिए बार-बार उठाया है, वे हैं—काव्य स्वरूप, काव्य प्रयोजन, काव्य-कारण, काव्य-प्रकार, शब्दशक्ति, ध्वनि, रस, गुणीभूत, व्यंग्य, काव्य-दोष, काव्य-रीति, काव्यगुण, काव्य-वृत्ति, काव्यालंकार आदि। काव्य-तत्त्व जिस ढंग से कश्मीरी प्रज्ञाओं के द्वारा विवेचित हुए हैं वे उत्तरोत्तर विमर्श के सुपरिणाम हैं जो एक देश और अनेक काल में क्रमशः सामने आये हैं। भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्र के रूप में जिस परम्परा का उल्लेख किया जाता है उसका अधिकांश निश्चित ही कश्मीर की आचार्य प्रज्ञाओं से पर्याप्त रूप में उपकृत है।

कश्मीर की जो आचार्य-परम्परा प्राप्त है उसमें तीन प्रकार की प्रतिपादक प्रकृति दिखलाई देती है :—

(१) उद्भावक

(२) व्यवस्थापक

(३) व्याख्याता

भामह से लेकर क्षेमेन्द्र तक की परम्परा को उद्भावक इसलिए कहा जाता है कि उनका ध्यान उत्तरोत्तर नवीन अनुसंधानों की ओर लगा रहा। अगली पीढ़ी अपेक्षित संशोधन-परिवर्धन करती और नये विचारों को सामने लाती थी। इस

प्रकार परम्परा और प्रवाह का सामंजस्य तो बना ही रहा, नवीन उद्भावनाओं का क्रम भी बन्द नहीं हुआ। दूसरी ओर व्यवस्थापक आचार्य उसे कहा जा सकता है जो पूर्ववर्ती और समसामयिक उद्भावित सत्यों को एक निश्चित क्रम में व्यवस्थापित करते हैं। भामह आदि उद्भावक आचार्यों में ही व्यवस्था का यह गुण मिलता है। फिर भी जिस एक कृतिकार का कश्मीर की साहित्य शास्त्रीय परम्परा में अस्तित्व मिलता है, वह व्यवस्था में इतना अप्रतिम था कि आगे आने वाली भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्रीय-परम्परा तात्त्विक-व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में आज तक उसका अनुगमन कर रही है। वे आचार्य हैं—मम्मट। उन्होंने काव्य तत्त्वों के सम्बन्ध में एक निश्चित व्यवस्था दी। उसका न्यूनाधिक रूप में अगली पीढ़ी ने पालन किया है। विश्लेषण में नवीनता के आते हुए भी व्यवस्था का क्रम प्रायः आज से कुछ पहले तक जहाँ का तहाँ खड़ा रहा। तीसरे प्रकार के आचार्यों को व्याख्याता के रूप में स्वीकार किया जा सकता है, जो पूर्ववर्ती काव्य चिन्ता को नवीन अनुसंधान और अन्वेषण के आधार पर सम्पोषित करते हैं। मम्मट के बाद की कश्मीरी आचार्य-परम्परा प्रायः इसी कोटि की है।

कश्मीर का साहित्य-शास्त्रीय-वाङ्मय आज जिस रूप में उपलब्ध है, उसमें निहित जिन सिद्धान्तों की विशेष रूप से चर्चा की जाती है, वे बहुचर्चित सिद्धान्त-अलंकार, रीति, ध्वनि, वक्रोक्ति, औचित्य, रस और चमत्कृति आदि—कश्मीर की आचार्य-प्रज्ञाओं की ही देन हैं। इन सिद्धान्तों की चर्चायें आज भी चल रही हैं। यद्यपि उन्हें पुराना कहकर नवीन भारतीय-प्रज्ञा अपनी मुलम्मे से ढकी हुई प्रति-स्थापनाओं को विशेष महत्त्व देना चाहती है, फिर भी भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्र के विश्लेषक विशिष्ट आचार्यों की दृष्टि में इन सिद्धान्तों की उपयोगिता आज भी बनी हुई है। इन्हें नवीन शब्दावलियों और नवीन प्रतिस्थापनाओं के आलोक में अभिनव ढंग से प्रस्तुत किया जाना चाहिये। इन सिद्धान्तों के सहज रहस्य तक पहुँच कर उन्हें युगानुरूप अभिव्यक्ति देने की आवश्यकता आज भी बनी हुई है।

कश्मीर का साहित्य-शास्त्रीय वाङ्मय जो अब तक स्थूल रूप में पुराने ढंग से काव्य-तत्त्वों और काव्यसिद्धान्तों की चर्चा से आनुषंगिक रूप में सम्बद्ध समझा जाता रहा है, आज धीरे-धीरे भारतीय और पाश्चात्य विचारकों का ध्यान आकृष्ट कर रहा है। पाश्चात्य विश्व में जो तात्त्विक विश्लेषण अट्ठारहवीं शताब्दी से शुरू हुए हैं, उन्हें यहाँ बहुत पहले से ही उल्लिखित देखकर पाश्चात्य विचारकों को भी विस्मय हुआ है।

श्री सुशील कुमार डे और पी० वी० काणे जैसे इतिहासकारों के अतिरिक्त आनन्द कुमार स्वामी, (१८७७ से १९४७) डा० प्रवास जीवन चौधरी (१९१६ से १९६१), डा० कान्तिचन्द्र पाण्डेय, डा० आर० लोली, डा० मनोहर काले, डा० नगेन्द्र,

डा० गणेश त्र्यम्बक देशपाण्डे, डा० आनन्द प्रकाश दीक्षित, सुरेन्द्र वारलिंगे आदि विद्वानों ने भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्र पर ऐतिहासिक और विश्लेषणात्मक-दृष्टि से लेखनी चलायी है, जिसमें से डे और काणे जैसे कम ही लोगों का ध्यान ऐतिहासिक पक्ष की ओर गया है। इतिहास के ग्रन्थों में ऐतिहासिक सामग्री का होना तो अपेक्षित होता ही है, साथ ही इन महानुभावों ने कश्मीरी विद्वानों की कृतियों के यत्र-तत्र समानान्तर श्लोकों और सन्दर्भों तक को इंगित किया है जिससे कश्मीरी विद्वानों की चिन्तन सम्बन्धी व्यापकता और गहनता का कुछ-कुछ अन्दाज लगता है, किन्तु इन विद्वानों की दृष्टि समग्र भारत के साहित्य-शास्त्र पर इस तरह केन्द्रित है कि किसी स्थान-विशेष की सम्पूर्ण परम्परा को समग्र विश्लेषण के आधार पर प्रस्तुत करने का वहाँ अवकाश ही नहीं है। वैसे यह सत्य है कि उनकी कृतियों में से भारतीय साहित्य-शास्त्र में सबसे अधिक योगदान की दृष्टि से कश्मीर के आचार्यों का प्रयास सबसे बड़ा है। इसका कारण है—उसमें उन्हीं के अनुसार आई हुई परम्परा का लम्बा प्रवाह। इसी प्रकार गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र, दक्षिण भारत, उड़ीसा, बंगाल और मध्य भारत आदि प्रान्तों की साहित्य शास्त्र को समर्पित की गई उपलब्धियों का नवीन दृष्टि से विश्लेषण विवेचन अपेक्षित है। इससे न केवल उन प्रान्तों की विशिष्ट प्रतिभाओं के प्रति सम्मान का भाव आयेगा अपितु भारतीय साहित्य शास्त्र का समग्र स्वरूप भी और अधिक निखरेगा। अब तक के भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र की नियति है कि गुजरात, महाराष्ट्र से हेमचन्द्र, राजशेखर, उड़ीसा और बंगाल से विश्वनाथ, विद्यानाथ और विद्याधर, दक्षिण सम्पूर्ण भारत से दण्डी, मध्यभारत से पण्डितराज जैसी कुछ आचार्य-प्रज्ञाओं का नाम लेकर और उनकी कृतियों की चर्चा करके ही हम सन्तुष्ट हो जाते हैं। भारत की विभिन्न भाषाओं में तथा स्वयं संस्कृत में भी बिभिन्न लिपियो में, टीकाओं और टिप्पणियों के रूप में ऐसा अनन्त साहित्य है, जिसे उन-उन भाषाओं और लिपियों में पूरी तत्परता से ढूंढ़ा जाना चाहिए और उनका अपेक्षित मूल्यांकन किया जाना चाहिए, जिससे खण्डशः मूल्यांकनों के आधार पर समग्र भारतीय साहित्यशास्त्र की छवि निखर सके।

साहित्य-शास्त्र से सम्बद्ध पुरातन विश्लेषण की प्रकृति को देखने से लगता है कि वे आचार्य कतिपय बहुप्रचलित काव्य तत्त्वों पर विचार करते समय कुछ तत्त्वों पर तो अधिक ध्यान देते थे और कुछ प्रायः अपेक्षित सीमा तक चर्चा का विषय बनता था, जैसे साहित्य-शास्त्र में साहित्य के अवयवों और उससे सम्बद्ध सिद्धान्तों पर तो चर्चा होती थी किन्तु रचनाकार और सहृदय पर प्रसंगतः कहीं-कहीं ही कुछ प्रकाश पड़ पाता था। इसलिए इन तत्त्वों के सम्बन्ध में पुरातन साहित्यशास्त्र में अत्यन्त कम सामग्री है। नये विश्लेषक का दायित्व है कि वह अतीत की समस्त साहित्य शास्त्रीय-सम्पदा का सतर्क विश्लेषण करे, जिससे साहित्य तत्त्व का सही स्वरूप सामने आ पाये और यह भी कि उन प्रज्ञाओं ने साहित्य के जिन तत्त्वों

पर जिस सीमा तक और जिस दृष्टि से प्रकाश डाला है उसे उसी क्रम में आगे बढ़ाया जा सके। यदि इस दिशा में इस अनुसन्धान क्रम को दृष्टि में रखते हुए आगे बढ़ाया जाय तो समस्त विश्लेषित और अप्रत्यक्ष, किन्तु स्थल-स्थल पर संकेतित सत्यों का ज्ञान सहजता के साथ बाहर निकल आयेगा जिसके द्वारा संसार के अन्य हिस्सों में होने वाले अनुसन्धान क्रम के समानान्तर भारतीय प्रज्ञा की महत्त्वपूर्ण उपलब्धियों को उचित सम्मान दिलाया जा सकेगा।

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वर्णात्मक रङ्गों का रङ्गमञ्च

विमला मुसलगाँवकर

वाराणसी

The term *Varṇa* bearing different meanings has overpowered the whole world. *Varṇa* is called *Viṣṇu.* It is a powerful medium of expression. The impact of different colours is evident in nature everywhere. The Vedic *Sāma*-music has the colours of *svaras* To *Sāṃkhya,* the creation is लोहितशुक्लकृष्णा . *Jyotiṣa* speaks of the colours of the planets. The *Nāṭyaśāstra,* the *Upaniṣads* and other *śāstras,* all accept the importance of colours. The role of colours may be seen in our social life also.

अभिव्यक्ति के अनेक साधनों में से एक सशक्त एवं सफल साधन वर्ण भी है। किसी भी आकृति की अन्तरंग विविधता तथा सजीवता के नील-पीतादि वर्ण (रंग) ही प्रथम परिचायक होते हैं। वर्ण-बोध (रंग-ज्ञान) चक्षुरिन्द्रिय का विषय है। वर्ण (रंग) तो पदार्थों में रहनेवाला गुण है। रंग तथा रूप का ज्ञान आंख से ही होता है। पदार्थों के रहने पर भी चक्षुरिन्द्रिय के न होने से, रंग-रूप के दर्शन नहीं होते। कभी घने अन्धकार के कारण चक्षुरिन्द्रिय के होने पर भी पदार्थों के रूप-रंग का दर्शन संभव नहीं हो पाता है। रंग-रूप के बोधार्थ-चक्षुरिन्द्रिय और प्रकाश इन दोनों के साथ पदार्थ की अपेक्षा भी होती है।

वर्णात्मक रङ्गों के प्रभाव की विलक्षणता का प्रथम साक्षात्कार उन्मुक्त प्रकृति के प्राङ्गण में मानव को हुआ होगा। प्रकृति की गोद को दिन और रात्रि के वर्णात्मक रङ्ग-रूप में निमग्न कर देने वाले सूर्य और चन्द्र हैं, उनका उदय तथा अस्त ही-सित (श्वेत) और असित (श्याम) वर्ण हैं। इन दो नैसर्गिक वर्णों की प्रत्यक्षानुभूति अनादिकाल से मनुष्य करता आ रहा है। ब्रह्मवेला के दुग्ध-धवल-स्निग्ध प्रकाश में निमग्न आकाश, फिर स्वर्णिम तेज से रङ्ग देने वाला अरुणोदय, पश्चात् उसी आकाश को केसरिया रङ्ग में निमज्जित कर देता है।

सम्भवतः संगीत-मनीषियों ने साम के स्वरों की पृष्ठभूमि भी धवल (म ग रि स), और श्याम (ध नि प) वर्ण की ली है। जैसे श्वेत वर्ण वाले मध्यमस्वर के बाद गान्धार का सजीव स्वर्णवर्ण, ऋषभ का राजस केशरिया वर्ण और षड्ज का पद्म-पत्र प्रभा के सन्निभ स्निग्ध गहरा हरित (श्याम) वर्ण, और धैवत का क्षीण पीताभ वर्ण, निषाद का कर्बुरित (चितकबरा) वर्ण है जो अस्तमित सन्ध्यावत् 'प'

स्वर की निशामयी कालिमा में शनैः-शनैः विलीन होकर खो जाता है। भारत की शस्य श्यामला वसुन्धरा के रूप-रंग के—विधायक और प्रकाशक दिनकर तथा निशाकर उदित होकर प्रतिदिन उसके रूप में चार चाँद लगा देते हैं और उसमें अनुपम सौन्दर्य विकसित कर देते हैं, उसी प्रकार वैदिक साम संगीत के स्वरों की वर्ण-व्यवस्था दृष्टिगोचर होती है।

वर्णात्मक रङ्ग-दर्शन से मानवीय चित्तवृत्ति पर जो भिन्न-भिन्न प्रभाव पड़ता रहा होगा, उससे भारतीय विचारक मन अवश्य ही प्रभावित होता रहा होगा। श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद् में भी कहा है[1] कि समग्र सृष्टि में तीन वर्ण व्याप्त हैं। प्रत्येक पदार्थ को त्रिगुणात्मक रूप (वर्ण) में सांख्यदर्शन के चित्रकार ने भी देखा है। सृष्टि के प्रत्येक पदार्थ में रंग (वर्ण) की चेतना, मूल रूप से सांख्यदर्शन की ही देन कही जाती है। सांख्य की सत्त्व-रजस्-तमोरूपा मूल प्रकृति ने भारतीय कलाकार को वर्णाभिव्यक्ति का एक अपूर्व साधन प्रदान किया है। सांख्य दर्शन ने मूल प्रकृति को सत्त्व में—सितवर्णा, रजस् में—रक्तवर्णा, तथा तमस् में श्यामवर्णा बताया है।[2] आज भी चित्रकला और रञ्जनकला में—नील, पीत और रक्त (लाल) तीन ही रंग मूलरङ्ग के रूप में मान्य किये गये हैं। इन्हीं तीन रङ्गों के मिश्रण (संयोग) से अन्यान्य रङ्ग हो जाते हैं। नील-पीत के परस्पर मिश्रण से हरित (हरा) वर्ण, पीत-रक्त (लाल) के परस्पर मिश्रण से नारङ्गी वर्ण, तथा नील-श्वेत के परस्पर मिश्रण से बैंजनी वर्ण (रंग) प्रकट हो जाता है। इन सभी रङ्गों के मिश्रण (संयोग) का परिणाम श्वेत (सित) वर्ण है। तथा इन्हीं समस्त वर्णों के अभाव को ही कृष्ण वर्ण कहते हैं। इन्हीं रङ्गों की न्यूनाधिकता से अगणित वर्णों (असंख्य रंगों) की सृष्टि विकसित हो जाती है, जिसे विज्ञान ने भी आज प्रमाणित कर दिया है।

रञ्जन कला तथा चित्रकला का रंग और रेखाओं से ही विशेष सम्बन्ध रहता है। ये रंग (वर्ण) ही कलाकार की भावनात्मक सघनता-विरलता, कल्पनात्मक विविधता तथा जीवन के कठोर-कोमल प्रसंगों को चित्रफलक पर साकार उतार देते हैं अर्थात् मूर्तिमान कर देते हैं। चित्रफलक पर किसी भी वस्तु की आकृति को रेखाओं के माध्यम से चित्रकार जब बनाता है, तब वह केवल उसकी लम्बाई, चौड़ाई और ऊँचाई ही दिखा पाता है, परन्तु उसके भारी, हल्केपन या उथलेपन एवं सघनता

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१. अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः।
अजो ह्येकोऽजुषमाणोऽनुशेते जहात्येनां भुक्तभोगामजोऽन्यः॥
श्वे० उ० ४।५।

२. सत्त्वं लघुप्रकाशकमिष्टमुपष्टम्भकं चलं च रजः।
गुरुवरणकमेवतमः प्रदीपवच्चार्थतो वृत्तिः॥ सां० का० ।१३।

को रंगों के हलके या गहरे भाव से ही व्यक्त कर पाता है। रेखाओं में पदार्थों को तीन आयाम (dimension) में ही व्यक्त करने की सामर्थ्य होती है। मानवीय अभिव्यक्ति के जितने भी माध्यम या साधन हैं, उनसे सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि के पदार्थ तीन आयाम में ही व्यक्त हो पाते हैं। कलाकार रेखाकृतियों में चैतन्य की सत्ता के बोध का प्रतीक रंग की विभिन्न छायाओं या संयोगों से ही व्यक्त करता है। भाषात्मक तथा गेयात्मक अभिव्यक्ति में भी 'तुरीय' की सत्ता का ज्ञान, केवल वर्ण या स्वर से नहीं कराया जा सकता। शब्दोच्चारण या पाठ से भी कहीं अधिक गेय स्वरों से वह अभिव्यक्त होता है। शब्दात्मक और गेयात्मक दोनों ही आकृतियों में भावात्मक वैविध्य के हलके-गहरेपन का बोध, 'तारता' (pitch), 'तीव्रता' और 'घनता' के न्यूनाधिक कर देने से अथवा मौन होकर ही कराया जाता है।

यह सृष्टि शिर-धड़-पाँव, अथवा ब्रह्माण्ड-पिण्ड-पाताल, या केन्द्र-व्यास-परिधि, इन त्रिकों (तीन स्थूल विभागों) में प्रत्येक पदार्थ में दृष्टिगत होती है। उक्त प्रत्येक विभाग में सात-स्वरों की कल्पना अपने देश की अनूठी (अनुपम) देन है। उसमें भी 'मध्य' को स्थिर रखकर बिम्ब-प्रतिबिम्ब भाव (दायें-बायें) से तीन-तीन की सुव्यवस्थित कल्पना का दृष्टान्त भी अपूर्व है। 'तुरीय' से नवीन सृष्टि की कल्पना होती है जिसमें पूर्व स्थित तीनों समाये हैं। सृष्टि की एक सतह (स्तर) नहीं है। इसीलिये जितना दृष्टिपथ पर आ जाता है, उतना ही दिख जाता है।

तर्क संग्रह के प्रत्यक्ष-परिच्छेद में[3] पृथ्वी के सात-रंग बताये गये हैं। साथ ही यह भी बता दिया है कि केवल पृथ्वी में ही नहीं, 'जल' और 'तेज' में भी, ये रहते हैं। इन्द्रधनुष के सात रङ्ग विश्व-प्रसिद्ध हैं ही। तेज के भण्डार सूर्य के सात अश्वों की चर्चा समस्त आगम-निगमादिकों में है ही। साहित्य के लक्षण ग्रन्थों में रसों के रङ्गों की चर्चा उपलब्ध है ही।[4] संस्कृतवाङ्मय में नीलवर्ण की विभिन्न छायाओं को बताने के लिये भिन्न भिन्न संज्ञाओं का प्रयोग किया गया है, जैसे— 'असित' (सित के विपरीत), 'श्याम' (गहरा हरा), 'कृष्ण' (गहरा नीला या काला) आदि। वास्तव में पदार्थ-उत्पादक तत्त्वों के सांघातिक प्रभाव से एक ही रंग, नवीन एवं भिन्न सा दृष्टिगत होता है। कभी-कभी पदार्थ का अपना रंग निश्चित होने पर भी, अन्य पदार्थ के सामीप्य से या संयोग से वह भिन्न सा प्रतीत होता है। रंग में, प्रभावित करने, होने तथा संक्रान्त होने तक की प्रवृत्ति होती है।[5]

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३. त० सं० प्र० ५०।

४. श्यामः श्वेतश्च गौरश्च पीतो रक्तश्च पञ्चमः।
कपोतश्चैव नीलश्च कृष्णश्चेति यथाक्रमम् ।।..........पूर्वसूरिभिः।
भा० प्र० ३। पृ० ६९।

५. "....यथा च स्फटिकादेर्जपाकुसुमाद्युपाधिवशात्तद्रूपरूषितस्य भानम्"।
वै० सि० क० मं० पृ० १५

ज्योतिष में भी[6] ग्रहों के रङ्गों की चर्चा प्राप्त है। 'सूर्य' का जपाकुसुम के समान लाल वर्ण, "शशी" का दधि, शंख या तुषार के समान श्वेत वर्ण, "मंगल" का विद्युत् की कान्ति के समान जोगिया वर्ण, "बुध" का प्रियङ्गु पुष्प की कली के समान श्याम (हरा) वर्ण, "गुरु" का कांचन के समान स्वर्ण वर्ण, "शुक्र" का हिम, कुन्द या तुषार के समान श्वेत वर्ण, "शनि" का नील अञ्जन के समान नीलवर्ण, "राहु" का नील (काला) वर्ण, और "केतु" का धूम्रवर्ण बताया गया है। तात्पर्य यह कि नवग्रहों के भी सात ही रंग बताये हैं।[7]

भरतमुनि ने नाट्यशास्त्र में[8] वर्णों (रङ्गों) का "स्वभावज, संयोगज और उपवर्ण" तीन प्रकार से वर्गीकरण किया है। स्वभावजों में "सित" नील, पीत और रक्त" ये चार रङ्ग लिये हैं। संयोगजों में "सित" और 'नील" के योग से "कारण्डव" और सित-पीत के संयोग से पाण्डु वर्ण तथा सित-रक्त के संयोग से पद्मवर्ण और पीत-नील के योग से हरा रंग, नील-रक्त के योग से काषाय रंग, तथा रक्त-पीत के संयोग से गौर वर्ण बनाया है। उपवर्ण तो नाना वर्णों के संयोग से बनते हैं।

उपनिषदों में भी प्रसंगवश रङ्गों की चर्चा उपलब्ध होती है। बृहदारण्यक[9] में "उस पुरुष का रूप ऐसा है, जैसे हल्दी में रङ्गा हुआ वस्त्र अथवा सफेद ऊर्णा वस्त्र, या इन्द्रगोप (वीर बहूटी) के समान लाल रङ्ग या अग्नि की ज्वाला के समान रक्तवर्ण, या श्वेत-कमल और विद्युत् की चमक के समान, वर्ण होता है।" एक ही व्यक्ति के विभिन्न रङ्ग तथा एक ही रङ्ग के विभिन्न उपरङ्ग बताये गये हैं।

ध्यानबिन्दूपनिषद्[10] में आत्मोपलब्धि के लिये साधन-निर्देश करते हुए बताया है कि विधिवत् आसन पर अवस्थित होकर पूरक के द्वारा श्वास को भीतर खींचते हुए नाभिस्थान में अतसी पुष्प के समान नीलवर्ण चतुर्भुज महावीर विष्णु का ध्यान करे। कुंभक के द्वारा श्वास को भीतर रोके हुए हृदय-स्थान में लाल कमल

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६. जातकपारिजात पृ० १३ अध्याय २, श्लो० १९ तथा बृहज्जातक अ० २। श्लो० ५। पृ० ३२।

७. यथा महारञ्जनं वासो..........सकृत्विद्युतेव ह वा अस्य श्रीर्भवति।" बृ० आ० उ० २।३।६।

८. ना० शा० अ० २१।७८–८६।

९. बृ० आ० उ० २।३।६

१०. "अतसीपुष्पसंकाशं......निष्कलं पापनाशनम्।" ध्या० बि० उ० श्लो० ३०-३२ पृ० १९३।

की कर्णिका पर विराजमान लालवर्ण के चतुर्मुख लोक-पितामह ब्रह्मा का ध्यान करे। रेचक के द्वारा श्वास छोड़ते समय ललाट में विद्या स्वरूप तीन नेत्रों वाले शुद्ध स्फटिक के समान उज्ज्वल रंग के कलारहित, पापविनाशक भगवान् शंकर का ध्यान करे। ललाट में अवस्थित कमल, कदली पुष्प के समान नील-लोहित (बैंजनी रंग) रंग का है।

कृष्णयजुर्वेद के गर्भोपनिषद्[11] में गर्भ की उत्पत्ति एवं उसकी वृद्धि के प्रकारों का वर्णन करते हुए बताया है कि "षड्ज, ऋषभ, गान्धार, मध्यम, पञ्चम, धैवत और निषाद ये सप्त स्वर तथा इष्ट, अनिष्ट और प्रणिधानकारक प्रणवादि शब्द मिलाकर दस प्रकार के शब्द (स्वर) होते हैं। उनके शुक्ल, रक्त, कृष्ण, धूम्र, पीत और कपिल तथा पाण्डुर ये सप्त रूप (रंग) हैं।"

अमृतनादोपनिषद्[12] में पाँचों प्राणों के रंग बताये हैं। हृदय स्थित प्राण-वायु का रंग, रक्त-वर्ण मणि के समान चमकता हुआ लाल है। गुदा के मध्य में स्थित अपानवायु का रंग इन्द्रगोप (वीरबहूटी) नामक कीट के समान लाल है। नाभि के मध्यभाग में स्थित समानवायु का रंग, गाय के दूध के अथवा स्फटिकमणि के समान उज्ज्वल है। कण्ठदेश में स्थित उदानवायु का रंग धूसर (मटमैला) और सम्पूर्ण शरीर में व्याप्त रहने वाले व्यानवायु का रंग, अग्निशिखा के रंग के समान अर्थात् प्रकाशमय है।

छान्दोग्य[13] में ऋच्यध्यूढ साम के गान का निरूपण करते हुए बताया है कि—"यह जो आदित्य की शुक्ल ज्योति है, वही ऋक् है, और उसमें जो नीलवर्ण (अत्यन्त श्यामता) दिखायी देता है, वह साम है। यह नीलवर्ण रूप साम, उस शुक्ल ज्योति ऋक् में अधिष्ठित है। अतः ऋक् पर अधिष्ठित साम का ही गान किया जाता है। आदित्य का जो शुक्ल-प्रकाश है वह "सा" है और जो नीलवर्णात्मिका अत्यन्त श्यामता है, वही 'अम' है। ये दोनों मिल कर "साम" हैं।

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११. गर्भोपनिषद्—"षड्जऋषभगान्धारमध्यमपञ्चमधैवतनिषादाश्चेति इष्टानिष्टशब्दसंज्ञाः प्रणिधानाद्दशविधा भवन्ति ॥१॥ शुक्लो रक्तः कृष्णो धूम्रः पीतः कपिलः पाण्डुर इति ॥

१२. प्राण आद्यो हृदि स्थाने.......व्यानो ह्यर्चिसमप्रभः॥ अमृ० ना० उ० ३४-३७ पृ० २४।

१३. अथ यदेतदादित्यस्य शुक्लं भाः सैव यन्नीलं परः कृष्णं तत्साम तदैतदेतस्यामृच्यध्यूढं साम। तस्मादृच्यध्यूढं साम गीयते। छा० उ० १।६।५।

शिक्षाग्रन्थों[१४] में भी वर्णों की चर्चा की गई है। नारदीय शिक्षा के प्रथम प्रपाठक की चतुर्थ कण्डिका के प्रथम और द्वितीय श्लोक में स्वरों के वर्णों का ही निरूपण किया है। उसी प्रकार याज्ञवल्क्य शिक्षा में भी उदात्तादि स्वरों और पदों के रंगों की चर्चा की है। 'संगीतमकरन्द' में 'नारद' ने भी स्वरों के रङ्गों की चर्चा की है। सात ही मूल स्वर हैं और उनके सात ही वर्ण (रंग) बताये गये हैं। वे रङ्ग ऊपर चर्चित रङ्ग ही हैं कोई नये रङ्ग नहीं हैं—जो इन्द्र धनुष के, जो सूर्य के, जो ग्रहों के, जो नाड़ियों के रङ्ग बताये जाते हैं वही संगीत के सात स्वरों के भी हैं।

छान्दोग्य[१५] में हृदयगत नाड़ियों में स्थित सूक्ष्म रसों के रंगों की चर्चा की गई है।" ये जो हृदय की नाड़ियाँ हैं, वे पिंगलवर्ण सूक्ष्मरस की हैं। उन रसों का रंग शुक्ल, पीत और लोहित भी है। "पित्त" संज्ञक तेज से परिपक्व हुए कफ के साथ ईषन्मात्र सम्पर्क होने पर वह "पित्त" संज्ञक सौर तेज पिंगलवर्ण का हो जाता है। वही "वात" की अधिकता होने पर नील हो जाता है। कफ की अधिकता होने पर वही "पित्त" शुक्ल हो जाता है। कफ की "वात" से समता रहने पर वह पीला हो जाता है, और रक्त की अधिकता होने पर लोहित हो जाता है।

बृहदारण्यक[१६] में कहा गया है कि सहस्रधा विभक्त हुए केश की तरह ये "हिता" संज्ञक नाड़ियाँ अत्यन्त सूक्ष्म हैं। वे शुक्ल, नील, पीत, हरित और लाल रंग के रस से पूर्ण होती हैं। महाभूतों के भी यही प्रमुख वर्ण हैं। यथा—

आकाश	वायु	पृथ्वी	जल	अग्नि (तेज)
×	नीला	पीत	शुक्ल	लाल

तैत्तिरीय-संहिता[१७] में बताया है कि अरुणवर्ण की गाय देकर सोम का

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१४. पद्मपत्रप्रभः षड्जः ऋषभः शुकपिंजरः।
कनकाभस्तु गान्धारो मध्यमः कुन्दसप्रभः॥
पंचमस्तु भवेत् कृष्णः पीतकं धैवतं विदुः।
निषादः सर्ववर्णः स्यात् इत्येताः स्वरवर्णताः॥ ना० शि० १।४।१-२।

१५. शुक्लमुच्चं विजानीयान्नीचं लोहितमेव च।
श्यामं तु स्वरितं विद्यात्। —या० शि० स्व० प्र० पृ० ३। तथा
तत्र स्वराः शुक्लानानादेवत्याः। स्पर्शाः कृष्णाः। अन्तस्थाः कपिलाः।
ऊष्माणः अरुणाः। यमाः नीलाः। अनुस्वारः पीतः। विसर्जनीयः
श्वेतः। इत्यादि॥ —वही व० प्र० पृ० ७७–७९।

१६. बृ० आ० उ० ४।२।३. ४।३।२०।

१७. अरुणया पिंगाक्ष्या एकहायन्या गवा सोमं क्रीणाति।—'तै० सं० ६।१।९।

क्रयण करे। उसी तरह श्राद्ध-तर्पणादि में काले तिलों का होना बताया ही गया है।[१८] अग्न्याधान का अधिकार भी "कृष्णकेश" व्यक्ति को ही बताया है।[१९] निष्कर्ष यह कि शास्त्रीय जीवन में भी रंग की चर्चा जहाँ-तहाँ की गई है।

सामाजिक जीवन में भी रंग का बड़ा महत्त्व है। तपस्वी संन्यासी लोगों के वस्त्र में अग्नि का गेरुआ रंग प्रतिबिम्बित है। मनु ने भी महापुरुषों की एकरूपता (अपरिवर्तनशीलता) में सूर्योदय और सूर्यास्त की लाली की ही उपमा दी है। नारी के ललाट पर सौभाग्यसूचक सिन्दूर-बिन्दु, जो रजोगुण का प्रतीक है, दिया गया है। पुरुषों के चन्दन का तिलक भी रंग के महत्त्व को सूचित करता है। वैधव्य के सूचक वस्त्र के रंग तत्तद् देश के अनुसार प्रसिद्ध ही हैं।

ऋतुओं में भी रंग का अपना प्रभाव रहता है (१) वर्षा में—हरा रंग, प्रकृति से संवाद करने के कारण स्वभावतः ही रुचिकर प्रतीत होता है। (२) शरद में—सफेद या गुलाबी रंग तथा सभी हलके रंग लगते हैं। (३) हेमन्त में—गहरे रंग पसन्द आते हैं। (४) वसन्त में—पीला रंग मन को भाता है, दूर-दूर तक पीली सरसों की परिपक्व हुई धान की बालियाँ सब एक ही सी छटा में विभोर दीखती हैं। (५) शिशिर ऋतु में—लाल रंग सम्पूर्ण वातावरण को रंगीला बना देता है। (६) ग्रीष्म ऋतु में—हल्का नीला या हरा रंग सुखकारक होता है।

रंगों से देश का भी ज्ञान होता है—दाक्षिणात्य स्त्रियाँ सभी बहुत गाढ़े रंग की साड़ियाँ पहनती हैं। पंजाबी-नारियों में श्वेत वस्त्र परिधान करने की विशेष प्रथा है। सिन्धी-नारियाँ भी अधिक अवस्था होने पर श्वेत वस्त्र पहनती हैं। सौभाग्यवती बंगाली-नारियाँ सदा रंगीन किनारी युक्त श्वेत रंग की साड़ी पहनती हैं। किन्तु उत्तरप्रदेश में सौभाग्यवती स्त्रियाँ सदा ही रंगीन वस्त्र पहनती हैं।

इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि संगीत के शास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में गान्धर्व के सातों स्वरों के वर्णों (रङ्गों) का उल्लेख है........."पद्माभः पिञ्जरः स्वर्णवर्णः कुन्दप्रभोऽसितः पीतःकर्बुरवर्णास्त्विमे क्रमात्—(संगीत रत्नाकर १।१।३।५४)। षड्ज स्वर के सम्बन्ध में कहीं 'पद्मपत्रप्रभः' मिलता है और कहीं "पद्माभः"। प्रथम अभिव्यक्ति से 'पद्मपत्र' कह कर कमल के पत्र की आभा का वर्णन है; द्वितीय में केवल 'पद्म' की आभा का ही संकेत है। अतः टीकाकारों ने इसकी 'गुलाबी रङ्ग' यह व्याख्या की है। अतः

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१८. कठा काण्वाश्च आबाला ये च वाजसनेयिनः। निषिद्धेऽपि दिने कुर्युस्तर्पणं तिलमिश्रितम्। आ० सू० स्नानसूत्रभाष्य।
तथा याज्ञवल्क्य—'शुक्लैस्तु तर्पयेद्देवान् मनुष्यान् शबलैस्तिलैः।
पितॄंस्तु तर्पयेत् कृष्णैस्तर्पणे सर्वदा द्विजः।।'

१९. 'जातपुत्रः कृष्णकेशोऽग्नीनादधीत।'—मी० न्या० प्र० पृ० ५९।

निश्चित रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता कि षड्ज का रङ्ग हरा है या गुलाबी। अस्तु, रङ्गों का रङ्गमंच संगीत जैसी अमूर्त कला में भी उभरा है। संगीत का तो सभी वितान ध्वनिमय है, श्रव्य है। रूप तथा रङ्ग का बोध तो दृश्य-कलाओं का ही विषय हो सकता है। अब, प्रश्न यह उपस्थित होता है, कि हमारे संगीत शास्त्रियों ने षड्जादि सप्तस्वरों के वर्णों यानी रङ्गों का क्यों उल्लेख किया है। सम्पूर्ण विश्व में सात रङ्गों की ही प्रसिद्धि है। उन सात रङ्गों के मिश्रण का परिणाम ही श्वेत वर्ण (रङ्ग) है, वह कोई पृथक् रङ्ग नहीं है, अतएव वर्णाधिष्ठात्री वागीश्वरी भगवती सरस्वती का वर्णन कवियों ने सप्तविध रङ्गों में से किसी एक रङ्ग में न कर, एक मात्र श्वेतवर्ण में ही करके इस रहस्य को प्रकट किया है कि सातों रङ्गों का परिणाम ही एक श्वेत रंग है, जिसके अन्तर्गत सातों रंग विराजमान रहते हैं, इसीलिए भिन्न रंगों वाले वर्णात्मक (रंगीली) स्वरों की अधिष्ठात्री एकमात्र श्वेतवर्णा सरस्वती देवी को माना जाता है। सम्भवत: वे विशिष्ट-श्रव्य-ध्वनि प्रतिमाएँ इन रंगों के अवलम्बन से ही प्रत्यक्ष हो सकेंगी।

'वर्ण' शब्द के अनेक अर्थ कोषकार ने बताये है। जैसे--रंग-रूप, सौन्दर्य, मनुष्य-श्रेणी, जाति, अक्षर, ध्वनि, शब्द, कीर्ति, प्रशंसा, वेशभूषा, प्रसिद्धि आदि। इस अनेकार्थी 'वर्ण' शब्द ने सम्पूर्ण विश्व को व्याप्त कर लिया है। अतएव 'वर्ण' को विष्णु की प्रतिमूर्ति ही माना जाता है। यही कारण है कि सम्पूर्ण विश्व का वर्णन करने की शक्ति उसमें रहती है। इसीलिए उसे वर्ण संज्ञा दी गई है। कहा भी है--"वर्णयन्ति जगत् सर्वं तेन वर्णाः प्रकीर्तिताः।"

लक्षणा-वैलक्षणी

आचार्य रमाशंकरमिश्रः

प्रतापगढ़े

Giving a history of *lakṣaṇā,* the author traces its origin in grammatical works, and dilates upon the definition of *lakṣaṇā* as given by Mammaṭa. Defending the lakṣaṇā kārikā against criticism of Viśvanātha, etc., the author deals with various sub-forms of *lakṣaṇā* given by later authors and interlinks their different nomenclature with each other.

पूर्वालोकः

शब्देषु लक्षणावादस्य चर्चा न केवलं काव्यशास्त्राजिरगामिनी, अपि तु निरुक्त-व्याकरण-न्याय-मीमांसा-वेदान्तादिषु सर्वत्रापि लक्षणा-गरिमा यथा-कथञ्चिज्जोघुष्यते। निरुक्तकार-यास्काचार्येण 'बहुभक्तिवादीनि हि ब्राह्मणानि भवन्ति' इत्यादि-निरुक्तिभिर्ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु भक्तिवादस्य (लक्षणावादस्य) प्रचुर-प्रचारत्वं ध्वनितम्। मीमांसा-सूत्रकारो भगवान् जैमिनिरपि यत्र-तत्र सूत्रेषु लक्षणां सम्मनुते। न्यायदर्शनकारेण महर्षिगौतमेन तु परिष्फुटमेव लक्षणा-चित्रं चित्रितम्।[1] परवर्तिभिर्मुकुलभट्टादिभिस्तु अभिधावशंवदैः लक्षणा-सम्बन्धादि-विचार-व्यूहमुपगूह्य विततो लाक्षणिक-प्रपञ्चः —

अभिधेयेन सम्बन्धात् सादृश्यात् समवायतः।
वैपरीत्यात् क्रियायोगाल्लक्षणा पञ्चधा मता॥[2]

अस्या एव लक्षणायाः शास्त्रनिवहेषु[3] आचारारोपितक्रिया-गुण-वृत्ति-

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१. न्यायदर्शने २।२।६४

२. अभिधावृत्तिमातृकायाम्, पृ० ५०

३. उपचारमात्रं तु भक्तिः। (ध्वन्यालोके १।१४)

भक्त्यारोपादीनि अभिधानान्तराणि गुञ्जन्ति । प्राच्य-वैयाकरणा[४] अन्विताभिधानवादिनो मीमांसकाश्च नो लक्षणा-वृत्तिमभिप्रयन्ति । नव्य-वैयाकरणास्तु (नागेशादयो) लक्षणामभ्युपगच्छन्तोऽवलोक्यन्त एव ।[५] ध्वनिप्रवर्तनाचार्येण आनन्दवर्धनेन तदनुगामिनाऽभिनवगुप्तेन च लक्षणायाः पृथग्रूपेण स्वतंत्रं सुविशदं च प्रतिपादनं नाकारि ; भाक्त वादि-नयापनोदनोपयोगिनी प्रकृतप्रसङ्गाव्यतिरेचिनी च लक्षणाचर्चा ताभ्यामाधायि ।[६] अनेन च ज्ञायते यत् काव्य-शास्त्रे लक्षणाविवेचनस्य मुख्योद्देश्यमस्ति व्यञ्जना-प्रतिष्ठापनम् ।[७] अतएव ध्वनि-गौरवोद्गिरणकामैर्मम्मट-विश्वनाथ-जगन्नाथादिभिः सक्षणं लक्षणा-लक्षणं लक्षितम् ।

विवेचना

यद्यप्युच्चरिता एव शब्दा अर्थ-प्रत्ययाय कल्पन्ते, नानुच्चरिता इति वैयाकरणानां नयः समुज्जृम्भते ;[८] तथा च वाच्यार्थ-बोधिका अभिधाशक्तिरेव ज्यायसीति न लक्षणावृत्तेरावश्यकतेति प्राच्यवैयाकरणाः, केचन मीमांसकाः, महिमभट्टादयो नैयायिकाश्च मन्यन्ते । किं बहुना, साहित्यिक-मौलि-मण्डनेन आचार्य-भोजदेवेनापि शब्दार्थस्याभिधायिनीमभिधा-शक्तिमेव प्रधानीकृत्य मुख्या-गौणी-लक्षणावृत्तयोऽभिधाङ्गत्वेन विवेचिताः ।[९]

अभिधावृत्तेस्सत्यपि सर्वोत्कृष्टत्वे मुख्यत्वे च लक्षणावृत्तेरपेक्षा तु भवत्येवावदातमनसाम् । तथाहि यत्र यत्र वाक्ये शब्दगत-मुख्यार्थस्य अन्य-पदैरन्वयने प्रत्यूहोऽवतिष्ठते, आहोस्वित् तात्पर्य-संगमनं न सामीचीन्येन संगच्छते, तत्र तत्र रूढितो मुख्यार्थतो वा कोऽपि तात्पर्याराधकोऽन्वय-संसाधको वाऽनुकूलोऽर्थविशेषः परिस्फुरति, स एव लक्ष्यार्थः आरोपितार्थो भाक्तो गौणो वा भण्यते । तस्यार्थस्यैव बोधिका शक्तिर्लक्षणा सम्मतेति विचक्षणाः ।

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४. नापि लाक्षणिकोच्छेदापत्तिः, इष्टत्वात् ।............तथा च कार्यकारणभावद्वयस्य कल्पने गौरवं स्यात् ।............अपि च लक्षणावृत्तिस्वीकारे कार्यकारणभावस्य प्रत्येकं व्यभिचारः, शक्तिजन्योपस्थितिं विनापि लक्षणाजन्योपस्थितितः शाब्दबोधात् । वैयाकरणभूषणसारे (पृ० २८३-८८) ।

५. लक्षणा इष्टैव । (वै० सि० ल० मं०, पृ० १०८)

६. ध्व० १।१४-१८ ।

७. ध्वनिसिद्धान्त तथा तुलनीय साहित्यचिन्तन, पृ० ६७ ।

८. उच्चारितस्यैव बोधकत्वम् (अणुदित् सूत्रस्थे महाभाष्ये) । उच्चार्यमाणः शब्दः सम्प्रत्यायको भवति, न सम्प्रतीयमानः । (महाभाष्ये १।१।६८) ।

९. शृङ्गार-प्रकाशे (ज्योशेर-संस्करणे), पृ० २२३ ।

उपरि यथोक्त-लक्षणानुशीलनेन ज्ञायते यद् यथा काव्य-करण-कारण-सामग्री 'शक्त्या'-दि-हेतुत्रयं समुदितमेव भवति न तु व्यस्तं, तथैवात्र लक्षणा साधनेऽपि अधोऽङ्कितं तत्त्वत्रयं संकलितमेव (न तु व्यस्तं) कारणकोटिमाटीकते[10]—

(क) मुख्यार्थ-बाधः (अन्वयानुपपत्तितस्तात्पर्यानुपपत्तितो वा)

(ख) मुख्यार्थ-सम्बन्धः

(ग) रूढिः अथवा प्रयोजन-विशेषः ।[11]

यथा[12] (अ) गंगायां घोष इत्यत्र वाक्ये घोषस्य स्थितिर्गङ्गायां नान्वेति, गङ्गायाः जलप्रवाहावच्छिन्नरूपार्थे (शब्दे) शक्तत्वात् । अतोऽत्र मुख्यार्थबाधोऽन्वयानुपपत्त्या दृश्यत इति गङ्गा-शब्दो मुख्यार्थ-सम्बद्धं (स्वसामीप्यादि-सम्बन्धवशात्) तटादिरूपमर्थं बोधयति' लक्षयति वा । तथा च गङ्गाया मुख्यार्थ-भाने येषां शीतलत्व-पावनत्वादीनां प्रतीतिर्नासीत् सम्भाव्या, तेषामपि शैत्यादि-प्रयोजन विशेषाणां (व्यंजनावृत्ति-मनाक्-परिस्पन्दनेन) प्रतीतिर्जायते शक्येति लक्षणा संगच्छते । एवमत्र तटादि-रूपे लक्ष्यार्थे कृते सति गङ्गायां गङ्गातटे घोषाधारत्व-सम्भवो बोभवीतीति मुख्यार्थबाध-निरासोऽपि जात एव । इदमुदाहरणं प्रयोजन-प्रतिपादनात्मकम् ।

(ब) मुख्यार्थबाधे जाते मुख्यार्थ-सम्बद्धो रूढि-परो लक्ष्यार्थोऽपि लक्षणा-विषयः ।[13] यद्यपि रूढिरभिधैव मता, तथापि रूढलक्षणायां (निरूढलक्षणायां वा) शब्दो मुख्यार्थं सर्वथा परित्यजति, यथा कथञ्चित् मुख्यार्थ-सम्पृक्तोऽपि सन् ; परं रूढ्याख्याभिधायां तु शब्दो मुख्यार्थं तिलमात्रमपि नोज्झति, न वाऽर्थान्तर-मालिंगति (निरूढलक्षणायामिव) इति तयोः रूढि-निरूढलक्षणयोर्भेदावगमः ।

उदाहरणमुखेन बोधयामस्तावत् । 'कुशल'—शब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यो मुख्योऽर्थोऽस्ति 'कुशानां लाता' (आनायकः), (कुशान् लाति इति कुशलः) इति, किन्तु 'कर्मणि कुशल' इत्यत्र न कुशानयनस्य कुश-ग्रहणस्य वा प्रसक्तिरिति मुख्यार्थबाधे प्रसक्ते सति विवेचकत्वादि-साधर्म्य-रूपैर्मुख्यार्थ-सम्बन्धैः कुशलशब्दस्य दक्षरूपो लक्ष्यार्थः परिभाति रूढिवशात् (लोकप्रचलनाद्धेतोः) । अत्र हि 'कुशल'-शब्दो मुख्यार्थ

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१०. हेत्वभावान्न लक्षणा । मुख्यार्थबाधादि-त्रयं हेतुः । (काव्यप्रकाशे २।१५)

११. काव्यप्रकाशे २।९, साहित्यदर्पणे २।५ च ।

१२. अत्र 'अ' भागे लक्षणायाम् अन्वयानुपपत्तेः प्रयोजन-संस्थितेश्चोदाहरणम् । 'ब' भागे लक्षणायां रूढेरुदाहरणम् । तत्र तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिरन्वयानुपपत्तिश्चोहनीये । 'स' भागे प्रयोजनस्य तात्पर्यानुपपत्तेश्च निदर्शनम् ।

१३. वै० सि० म०, पृ० ८८

जहातीति जहल्लक्षणा निरूढलक्षणा वा। किन्तु 'पंकजादि' रूढशब्देषु रूढिरिति मुख्यार्थ त्यागात्यागावेव रूढि-निरूढलक्षणयोर्भेद-बीजम्।

'एवमेव[१४] साहित्यदर्पणोदाहृते 'कलिंगः साहसिक' इति वाक्येऽपि अचेतने कलिंगाख्य-देश-विशेषे (मुख्यार्थे) चेतनधर्मस्य साहसिकत्वस्यान्वयानुपपत्त्या कलिंग-शब्दः स्वसंयुक्तं पुरुषं लक्षयति प्रत्याययति वेति, तत्र निरूढा लक्षणा बोद्धव्या, रूढि-हेतोः।

(स) 'काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यतामिति' वाक्येऽन्वयानुपपत्तिर्यद्यपि नास्ते, काकेभ्यो दध्यादीनां रक्षण-सम्भवात्, तथापि काकातिरिक्तदध्युपघातकेभ्योऽपि (कुक्कुर-विडालादिभ्यो) दधि-रक्षा-रूप-तात्पर्यस्य अनुपपत्तिः सुतरां सुमनो-मनो न विनोदयतीति हेतोः काकपदस्य दध्युपघातक-प्राणिमात्रे लक्षणा कार्या, तथा च न तात्पर्य-भंग-प्रसंगः सन्तिष्ठते।

एवञ्चान्वयानुपपत्तेर्व्यतिरिक्ता तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिरपि मुख्यार्थ-बाधे-बीजमिति स्वीकार्यम्। भूयिष्ठा हि साहित्यिका अन्वयानुपपत्तिमेव मुख्यार्थ-बाध-बीजं मन्यन्ते, तन्न मनोरममाभाति; उक्तोदाहरणे काक-पदस्य 'दध्युपघातक-वर्ग'-रूप-लक्ष्यार्थेऽनुपपत्यापत्तेः। केचन च वैयाकरणास्तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिमेव[१५] लक्षणा-गत-मुख्यार्थ-बाध-बीजमवधारयन्ति। केचनालंकारिका अपि मतमिदमनुसरन्ति। तेषामयमभिप्रायो यत् अन्वयानुपपत्तेर्लक्षणा-बीजत्वे (१) काकेभ्यो दधि रक्ष्यता-मित्यत्रोपर्युक्तरीत्या दधि-विनाशकमात्रे काकपदस्य लक्षणा न भविष्यति, अन्वया-नुपपत्ति-विरहात्। (२) गंगायां घोष इत्यादौ च यथा गंगा-पदस्य गंगा-तटे लक्षणा समुद्दीप्यते, तथैव घोषादिपद एव मकरादिलक्षणापत्ति विधायापि अन्वयानुपपत्ति-दोषः प्रक्षालनीयतां याति। एवं सति मुख्यार्थ-सम्बन्धे रूढि-प्रयोजनान्यतरस्मिंश्च सति तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिरेव लक्षणाबीजम्।[१६] केचनाचार्यास्तु अन्वयाद्यनुपपत्ति-र्लक्षणा-बीजमिति मत्वा तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिमप्यादि-पदेन गृह्णन्ति।[१७]

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१४. साहित्यदर्पणे, पृ० ४९-५०

१५. 'वस्तुतः तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिरेव तद्बीजम्। अन्यथा 'गङ्गायां घोष' इत्यादौ घोषादि-पद एव मकरादिलक्षणावृत्तिः, तावताऽप्यन्वयानुपपत्ति-परिहारात्। वैयाकरण–सि० मं०, पृ० ९४-९५।

१६. किन्तु तात्पर्य-विषयान्वये मुख्यार्थतावच्छेदकरूपेण मुख्यार्थ-प्रतियोगिकताया अभावो, रूढिप्रयोजनयोरन्यतरच्च तन्त्रम्। (रसगङ्गाधरे, द्वि० आ०, पृ० १६२)

१७ साहित्यदर्पणस्य डा० सत्यव्रत सिंह कृते विमर्श (पृ० ४८-४९)।

स्वकीयम्

(क) 'लक्ष्यतेऽन्योऽर्थो यया शब्द-शक्त्या सा लक्षणा'। एवं स्वीकारे 'लक्ष'-धातोः करणेऽर्थेल्युट्-प्रत्ययो ज्ञेयः।[१८] उत वा 'लक्षयति—बोधयति, आरोपयति वाऽन्यार्थमिति लक्षणा'। अत्र पक्षे 'लक्ष'-धातोः कर्तरि ल्युट्-प्रत्ययो विभावनीयः।[१९] अथवा 'लक्षणम्—गौणार्थ-प्रत्यायनम् अस्ति अस्यामिति लक्षणा' इत्यमत्र अन्तर्हित-णिजर्थल्लक्षण-शब्दान्[२०] मतुबर्थोऽच्-प्रत्ययस्ततः टाप्-प्रत्ययः प्रत्येयः। कारणा, हारणा इत्यादिवत् 'अ प्रत्ययात्' (पा० सू० ३।३।१०२) इति सूत्रेण णिजन्ताल्लक्षण-शब्दाद् 'अ' प्रत्यय-कल्पनया तु न प्रकृत-समीचीनार्थवाही 'लक्षणा'—शब्दो भविष्यतीति, तदुपेक्ष्यम्।

ल्युट्-प्रत्यय-साधित एव लक्षणा-शब्दोऽस्माकं मतं सम्भजते। अतएव मम्मटाचार्येण 'अन्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यते यत् सा लक्षणारोपिता क्रिया' इति लक्षणा- लक्षण-कारिकायां छन्दोऽनुरोधवशाद् 'यया' इति तृतीयार्थे लुप्त-तृतीया-विभक्तिकं 'यत्' इत्यव्यय-पदं साकूतमुपवेशितम्-'अत्र पक्षे 'लक्ष्यत' इति कारिकागतं पदं णिजन्ता ख्यातेन अणिजन्ताख्यातेन वोभयथा निष्पादयितुं पार्यते।

यत्तु केचन यदिति क्रियाविशेषण-बोधकपदमुद्भाव्य 'लक्ष्यत' इति पदञ्च णिजन्तत्वेन प्रतिबोध्य 'यत् लक्ष्यते-यत् प्रतिपाद्यते, सा लक्षणे'ति कृत्वा 'अन्यार्थ-प्रतिपत्तिहेतुर्लक्षणा' इति भावयन्ति, तत्तु क्लिष्ट-कल्पना-वैपुल्यादवहेल्यमेव।[२१]

(ख) मम्मटेन लक्षणालक्षण-कारिकायां तद्वृत्तौ च 'लक्ष्यत' इति प्रयोगो द्विः कृतो, येन तस्य वैयाकरणत्वमेव पुरो नरीनर्ति 'लक्षणामूलकस्य' 'लक्ष-धातोरेव साकूतं प्रयोग-प्रवणत्वात्। वस्तुतस्तु कारिका-संस्थितस्य 'लक्ष्यते' इति पदस्य वृत्तौ बोध्यते, प्रतिपाद्यते, प्रत्याय्यते इति प्रभृतिपदैर्भावोन्निद्रणमपेक्ष्यमासीत्. तन्न कृतं तेन। एवमेव मूलोदितस्य 'यत्'—पदस्यापि प्रबोधनं (लुप्तकरणम-व्ययपदं, क्रिया विशेषण-पदं वेत्याकारकं) न विततं तेन, वृत्ति-विवेचनेऽपि 'यत्' पदमेव निवेशयता। अतएव व्याख्याकारास्तद्विवेचने धृत-विविध-वीथिका निरंकुशा-श्चेति झलकीकर-वामनेन परिदेवितमलम्।

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१८. करणाधिकरणयोश्च (पा०सू० ३।३।११७)।

१९. नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः (पा०सू० ३।१।१३४)

२०. पा०सू० ५।२।१२७

२१. आचार्य-विश्वेश्वर-सिद्धान्तशिरोमणेः काव्यप्रकाश-व्याख्यायाम् (पृ० १९)

(ग) कविराजविश्वनाथेन तु 'लक्ष्यते' इति मम्मटोक्त-पदस्य स्थाने 'प्रतीयते' इति पदम् आरोपिता क्रिया लक्षणा 'इत्यस्य मम्मटोक्त-वाक्यस्य स्थाने अर्पिता (स्वाभाविकेतरा ईश्वरानुद्भाविता वा) शक्तिः लक्षणा' इति साभिप्रायं प्रयुज्य मौनमेव मम्मटोऽवमत इति ध्वन्यते । वृत्ति-वाक्यानुशीलनेन हि मम्मटीय-लक्षणायाः पद-विन्यासोऽत्यन्तं सीमितो लक्ष्यते ; यद्यपि प्रयोजनवतीलक्षणाव्यञ्जना-सहचरीत्वेन प्रतिपादिता मम्मटेन, तथापि तल्लक्षण-प्रसंगेन तेन तादृशो भाव उद्वेलितः । इदमेव न्यूनत्वमालोच्य विश्वनाथेन 'प्रतीयते' शक्तिरर्पिता 'कलिंगादिशब्दः..........स्वसंयुक्तान् पुरुषादीन् प्रत्याययति'—इत्यादिविधविवेचनमाधाय लक्षणाया व्यञ्जना-साधकं व्यञ्जना-नेदिष्ठं च गरिष्ठं स्वरूपमापादितमिति प्रतीयते ।

(घ) मम्मटोक्त-रूढिहेतुक-लक्षणाया उदाहरण-वाक्ये 'कर्मणिकुशल'-इत्यत्र कुशल-पदे व्युत्पत्ति-लभ्य-मुख्यार्थस्य (कुश-ग्राहि-रूपस्य) स्थाने रूढोऽर्थो (दक्षरूपो) लक्ष्यते, किन्तु विश्वनाथेन तत् खण्डितम्, व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यार्थापेक्षया प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तार्थस्य बलवत्तरत्व-स्वीकरणात् ; तन्न[२२] युक्ति-युक्तम् । यतो हि प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तार्थानां तु स्वीकारावसरः 'सन्दिग्धेषु' 'बह्वर्थकेषु' च पदेष्वेव प्रसरति इति लोक-व्यवहारः, स एव च शब्दार्थ-ग्राहण-प्रसंगे 'शक्तिग्राहक-शिरोमणित्वेन' पद-वाक्य-प्रमाण-साहित्य-शास्त्रेषु बहुत्र सादरमीक्षितः । प्रवृत्ति-निमित्तार्था एव यदा जगति शास्त्र-जगति च प्रवर्तेरन्, तदा तु व्यर्थयेत निखिलोऽपि पद-पदार्थ-काव्यरसादि-निःस्यन्दन-सान्द्रित-बिन्दु-सन्दोहः । इत्थं मम्मटीय-काव्यलक्षण-निरास-प्रयास इव विश्वनाथ-कृतो निरूढ-लक्षणोदाहरण-प्रत्याख्यानोद्यमोऽपि मात्सर्य्य-मलीमस-निःश्वास एवेति मे मतिः ।

(ङ) उपर्युदित-लक्षणा-लक्षण-प्रपञ्चस्य चायं सारार्थः —

(अ) यथाकाव्योत्पत्तौ शक्त्यादि-हेतुत्रयं संवलितमेव हेतुः, किन्तु कवित्व-प्रधानबीजरूपा शक्तिरेव प्रधानो हेतुः, यं बिना काव्यं न प्रसरति, प्रसृतं वा न विज्ञजन-सादर-भ्रूपात-पात्रीभवति ; तथैव मुख्यार्थ-बाधादि-हेतुत्रयमेव संवलितं सत् लक्षणाया उद्भावने हेतुः, किन्तु मुख्यार्थारुचि-समुत्पादकरूपो 'मुख्यार्थ-बाध' एव प्रधानो हेतुरिति अनुभूति-गोचरायते,[२३] यं विना लक्षणैव सलज्जाऽवगुण्ठन-बन्धुरेव नवोढा न पुरः पदं धत्ते । मुख्यार्थ-बाधस्यापि बीजम् अन्वयानुपपत्तिस्तात्पर्यानिपपत्तिर्वा, किन्तु अस्माकं मते तु तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिरेव लक्षणार्थ-सकल-चमत्कारचय-प्रसवाय-कल्पत इति तदेव स्वीकरणीयं वैयाकरणानुयायिभिर्ध्वनिवादिभिः ।[२४]

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२२. साहित्यदर्पणे, २।५, वृत्तौ ।

२३. मुख्यार्थ-बाधो लक्षणाया जीवितमिति लोचने, पृ० १६२ ।

२४. अत्र विशेषस्तु अत्रैवोदाहरणे (स भागे), तदधश्च वीक्षणीयः ।

(ब) लक्ष्यार्थानां मुख्यार्थैः साकं सम्बन्ध-विशेष आवश्यकः प्रतिभाति। स च सम्बन्धोऽभिधायां लक्षणान्तर्भावं विधित्सुना मुकुलभट्टेनेत्थं पञ्चधा प्रातिष्ठिपत्—

'अभिधेयेन सम्बन्धात् सारूप्यात् समवायतः।
वैपरीत्यात् क्रिया-योगाल्लक्षणा पञ्चधा मता॥''[२५]

(१)	अभिधेयेन	संबन्धात्	=	गंगायां घोषः।
(२)	,,	सारूप्यात्	=	आयुर्वै घृतम्, घृतमायुः।
(३)	,,	समवायतः	=	छत्रिणो यान्ति।
(४)	,,	वैपरीत्यात्	=	उपकृतं बहु, विषं भुङ्क्ष्व।
(५)	,,	क्रिया-योगात्	=	गौर्जल्पति, गोरनुबन्ध्यः, कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति, यष्टीः प्रवेशय।

(स) काव्यशास्त्रिभिः लक्षणा-व्यञ्जना-ध्वनिरूपणे बहुधा वैयाकरण-शास्त्रोदितान्येवोदाहरणानि समुपात्तानीति सर्वथा वैयाकरणानुगामित्वं तेषां ध्वन्यते। यथा गंगायां घोषः, कूपे गर्गकुलम्, गौर्वाहीकः, गौरयम्[२६] कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति, यष्टयः प्रविशन्ति, मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति,[२७] ग्रामो दग्धः, पुष्पितं वनम्[२८] यष्टीः प्रवेशय इत्यादीनि वैयाकरणमतान्युदाहरणानि।

लक्षणाभेदोपभेदः

साम्प्रतं केषाञ्चन द्वित्राणां काव्यशास्त्र-प्रथित-पृथुल-प्रतिभानां विदुषां मतमाश्लिष्य लक्षणाभेदोद्भेदनदिशमावहामि।

(अ) मम्मट-मते

मम्मटाचार्येण हि काव्यप्रकाशे[२९] षोढालक्षणा स्वान्ताभिमता मता। शुद्धा-गौण्योर्लक्षणयोर्मध्ये शुद्धायाश्चत्वारो भेदाः —उपादानलक्षणा, लक्षण-लक्षणा, शुद्धा सारोपा, शुद्धा साध्यवसानेति। गौणीलक्षणायाश्च भेदद्वयं—गौणीसारोपा, गौणी साध्यवसाना चेति। षड्विध-लक्षणायाः भेदाः—

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२५. (अ) अभिधावृत्तिमातृकायाम्, पृ० ५०। (ब) अग्निपुराणे ३४५।११।

२६. एतच्चतुष्टयमपि 'पुयोगादाख्यायाम्' (पा० सू० ४।१।४८) इति सूत्रास्थ-महाभाष्ये द्रष्टव्यम्।

२७. कैयटोक्तम् (वै० सि० मं०, ११७ पृ०)

२८. अर्थवत्-सूत्रस्थे महाभाष्ये।

२९. 'लक्षणा तेन षड्विधा' (का० प्र० २।१२)।

(१) **उपादान-लक्षणा**—यत्र स्वान्वय-सिद्धये कस्मिन्नपि पदे परार्थस्य आक्षेपः क्रियते तत्रोपादान-लक्षणा । यथा—'कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति' 'यष्ट्यः प्रविशन्ति' 'यष्टीः प्रवेशय' इत्यादौ कुन्तादि-पदे प्रवेशलाभ-संसाधनाय कुन्तादि-संयुक्ताः पुरुषादयश्चेतना आक्षिप्यन्ते । परार्थोपादानाच्चोपादान-लक्षणेयम् ।

(२) **लक्षण-लक्षणा**—यत्र परपदस्यान्वय-बोधनार्थं वाक्यगतं किञ्चिदपि पदं स्वमुख्यार्थं जहाति, तत्र खलु लक्षण-लक्षणा । यथा गंगाया मुख्यार्थभूते जल-प्रवाहावच्छिन्न-देशे घोषणावस्थानाऽसम्भवात्, मुख्यार्थ-त्यागेन गंगा-शब्दो गंगातटे, लक्ष्यते । अन्यार्थ-लक्षणाच्चेयं लक्षण-लक्षणा ।

(३) **शुद्धा सारोपा लक्षणा**—यत्रोपमानोपमेयभूतं पद-द्वितयमपि प्रयोग-बन्धुरं सदुल्लसति, तत्र शुद्धा सारोपा लक्षणा ; अत्र सादृश्येतरः कार्य-कारण-भावादि-रूपः सम्बन्ध एवापेक्ष्यते । यथा—'आयुर्घृतम्' इत्यत्र घृतमायुर्वर्धकमिति कृत्वा शुद्धा सारोपा ।

(४) **शुद्धा साध्यवसाना**—यत्रोपमान-पदेन उपमेयपदस्य अध्यवसानं=निगिरणं विधीयते, सादृश्येतर-सम्बन्धश्च परिस्फुटायते, तत्र शुद्धा साध्यवसाना लक्षणा । यथा—'आयुरेवेदम्' 'आयुः पिबामि' इत्यादि-स्थलेषु 'आयुः' पदेन उपमेयस्य घृतस्य निगीर्णीकृतत्वाच्छुद्धा साध्यवसानेति स्फुटम् ।

(५) **गौणी सारोपा लक्षणा**—शुद्धा सारोपेवेयम् । अत सादृश्यमेव परः सम्बन्ध इति विशेषः । यथा—गौर्वाहीकः 'इत्यत्र वाहीको गोगत-जाड्य-मान्द्यादि-सदृश-जाड्यमान्द्यादिमानीति वाहीके गोत्वारोपणाद् गौणी सारोपा ।

(६) **गौणी साध्यवसाना लक्षणा**—शुद्धा साध्यवसानेव चैषा । अत्र सादृश्यमेव सम्बन्धोऽभिलषित इति व्यतिरिक्तम् । यथा-गौरयम्, गौर्जल्पतीत्यादौ गवादिपदेन सादृश्याद् वाहीकादि-पदस्य निगिरणं कृतमिति गौणी साध्यवसाना लक्षणाऽत्र ।

इमाश्च षड्विधा लक्षणाः प्रयोजनमूलाया एव भेदविलसितम् । तत्रापि प्रयोजनमूलाया अपि षड्विध-लक्षणायाः सव्यंग्यत्वभाकलय्य, पुरतश्च गूढागूढरूपं व्यंग्यद्वयं तत्राधिवेश्य द्वादशभेदाः सुतरामाधातुं शक्यन्ते—गूढव्यंग्या प्रयोजनमूला षोढा, अगूढ-व्यंग्या प्रयोजनमूलाऽपि षोढेति । एका रूढि मूलाऽपि निरूढाख्या लक्षणा भवतीति प्रपञ्चितमेव प्रागिति तामपि द्वादशसु लक्षणासु (प्रयोजनमूलासु) परिगणय्य त्रयोदशविधा लक्षणेति सुवचम् ।[३०] यद्यपि च केचना-

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३०. 'तथा व्यङ्ग्य-रहिता रूढि-लक्षणा एकविधा, उक्त-षड्विधा प्रयोजन-लक्षणा गूढव्यङ्ग्यागूढ-व्यङ्ग्यत्वेन द्विविधा, मिलित्वा लक्षणा त्रयोदशविधा बोध्या । (काव्यप्रकाशटीकाकृद् वामनाचार्यः) ।

लोचन-चुञ्चव आलोचक-तल्लजा रूढिमूलाया अपि शुद्धा-गौणी भेदद्वयं प्रकल्प्य द्वादशसु तदिदं भेदद्वयं संयोज्य चतुर्दशविधा मम्मटमता लक्षणेति गदन्ति ; तथापि मम्मटेन क्वचनापि रूढिमूलायाः शुद्धा-गौणी-भेदद्वितयस्याकल्पितत्वात्तद् गगन-कुसुमित-प्रायमेव ।

(व) कविराज-विश्वनाथ-मते

साहित्य-दर्पणानुसारेण तु रूढिमूलां लक्षणां प्रयोजनमूलां लक्षणां च 'उपादान लक्षण'-भेदाभ्यां विभज्य निष्पादितानां चतसृणामप्यासां 'सारोपा-साध्यवसाना-भेदौ सङ्कलय्य प्रस्तुतानामष्टानामपि 'गौणीशुद्धा'-प्रभेदौ विधाय षोडश विधा लक्षणा[31] प्रातिभ-प्रसवैस्सनाथ्यते, अष्टविधा रूढिमूला अष्टविधा प्रयोजन-मूला चेति कृत्वा । तथा हि—

(१) रूढिमूला उपादान-लक्षणा साध्यवसाना शुद्धा । यथा—'श्वेतो धावति' ।

(२) रूढिमूला उपादान-लक्षणा 'सारोपा' शुद्धा । यथा—'अश्वः श्वेतो धावति'।

(३) रूढिमूला लक्षण-लक्षणा सारोपा शुद्धा । यथा—'कलिङ्गःपुरुषो युध्यते' ।

(४) रूढिमूला लक्षण-लक्षणा साध्यवसाना शुद्धा । यथा—'कलिङ्गःसाहसिकः'।

(५) रूढिमूला उपादान-लक्षणा सारोपा गौणी । यथा—'एतानि तैलानि हेमन्ते सुखानि' ।

(६) रूढिमूला उपादान-लक्षणा साध्यवसाना गौणी । यथा—'तैलानि हेमन्ते सुखानि' ।

(७) रूढिमूला लक्षण-लक्षणा सारोपा गौणी । यथा—'राजा गौडेन्द्रं कण्टकं शोधयति' ।

(८) रूढिमूला लक्षण-लक्षणा साध्यवसाना गौणी । यथा—'राजा कण्टकं शोधयति' ।

(९) प्रयोजनमूला उपादानलक्षणा सारोपा शुद्धा । यथा—'एते कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति'

(१०) प्रयोजनमूला उपादानलक्षणा साध्यवसाना शुद्धा । यथा-'कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति'

(११) प्रयोजनमूला लक्षण-लक्षणा सारोपा शुद्धा । यथा—'आयुर्घृतम्' । (अथवा'विद्या कीर्तिः' 'श्रम उन्नयः') ।

(१२) प्रयोजनमूला लक्षण-लक्षणा साध्यवसाना शुद्धा । यथा—'गङ्गायां घोषः' ।

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३१. 'सादृश्येतर-सम्बन्धाः शुद्धास्ताः सकला अपि ।
सादृश्यात्तु मता गौण्यस्तेन षोडश भेदिताः ।। (सा०द० २।९)

(१३) प्रयोजनमूला उपादानलक्षणा सारोपा गौणी । यथा—'एते राजकुमारा गच्छन्ति' (राजकुमारेषु तत्सदृशेषु च गच्छत्सु) ।

(१४) प्रयोजनमूला उपादानलक्षणा साध्यवसाना गौणी । यथा—'राजपुरुषा गच्छन्ति' ।

(१५) प्रयोजनमूला लक्षणलक्षणा सारोपा गौणी । यथा—'गौर्वाहीकः' ।

(१६) प्रयोजनमूला लक्षणलक्षणा साध्यवसाना गौणी । यथा—'गौर्जल्पति' ।

रूढिमूला तु अव्यङ्ग्यैवेति विश्वनाथ-दिशा सा अष्टविधैव वेद्या । किन्तु प्रयोजनमूलाया व्यङ्ग्यरूप-प्रयोजन-सहितत्वाद् व्यङ्ग्य च गूढागूढरूपभेदद्वय-भिन्नत्वाद् अष्टविधा पूर्वोक्ता प्रयोजनमूला लक्षणा गूढागूढव्यङ्ग्यमालिङ्ग्य षोडशविधा जाता । तत्रापि फलस्य (प्रयोजन-रूपस्य) धर्मिगतत्व-धर्मगतत्वाभ्यां षोडशविधाऽपि प्रयोजनमूला द्विगुणीभूय द्वात्रिंशद्-भेदान् भजते । पश्चाच्च द्वात्रिंशद्-विधायां प्रयोजनमूलायां रूढिमूलामष्टविधां संयोज्य चत्वारिंशत्प्रकारा सेयं लक्षणा आनन्दकन्दलितविचक्षणा विलसति । चत्वारिंशत्प्रभेद-प्रभिन्नामपि लक्षणां पदगतां वाक्यगतां च परिकल्प्य अशीतिविधायां लक्षणायामानन्दपरीवाहं व्रजति विश्वनाथः ।[३२] इत्थमहो ! अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यमानानां वैयाकरणानामनुगामिनोऽपि साहित्यशास्त्रिणोऽमी भेदोद्भेदन-गौरवगणनोद्गिरणमेव पुत्रोत्सवमाभजन्ते ।

(स) पण्डितराज-जगन्नाथ-मते

सर्वतः प्राग् लक्षणा द्विविधा 'प्रत्यपादि पण्डितराजेन रूढिमूला-'रूढा'-(निरूढा वा), प्रयोजनमूला 'प्रयोजनवती' चेति । ततः प्रयोजनवत्या भेदद्वितयं-गौणी शुद्धा च । गौण्याश्च द्विविधत्वं सारोपा-साध्यवसाना भेदाभ्याम् । शुद्धा तु चतुर्विधा-जहत्स्वार्था, अजहत्स्वार्था, सारोपा, साध्यवसाना चेति । तदनन्तरं रूढाया उदाहरणद्वयमुपन्यस्तं ; पूर्वत्रोदाहरणे सादृश्य-रूप-शक्य-सम्बन्धः समुच्छलति, परत्र तु सादृश्येतरः शक्य-सम्बन्ध उन्नमति । इत्थं, रूढाया अपि भेद-द्वयं समाम्नातं तेन गौणी शुद्धा चेति । ततश्चेदं निष्कृष्टं जातं यत् पण्डितराजमतमालम्ब्य लक्षणा अष्टविधा भवति ।[३३] उदाहरण-मुखेन ता निरूप्यन्तेऽधस्तात् ।

(१) **रूढा गौणी**—यथा अनुकूल-प्रतिकूलानुलोम-प्रतिलोम-लावण्यादयः । एषु पदेषु स्वीकृताया रूढ-लक्षणायाः सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध-मूलकत्वेन गौणीत्वम् ।

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३२. एवमशीति प्रकारा लक्षणाः (सा० द०, पृ० ७४)

३३. रसगङ्गाधरे द्वितीयानने, पृ० १६५-१६७ (चौखम्भा संस्करण) ।

(२) रूढा शुद्धा—यथा—नील-पीतादयः। एषु शब्देषु मताया रूढलक्षणायाः सादृश्येतर-'समवाय'-सम्बन्ध-मूलकत्वेन शुद्धात्वं प्रसज्यते।

(३) प्रयोजनवती गौणी सारोपा—यथा—'मुखचन्द्रः'। अत्र चन्द्र-पदस्य स्व-सदृशे लक्षणा, चन्द्रपद-वाच्यार्थस्येन्दोर्मुखेन सहाभेदान्वयस्य बाधितत्वात्। सा च लक्षणा गौणी, सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध-मूलकत्वात्। सारोपा चेयं विषय-विषयिणोरपि मुख-चन्द्रयोश्शब्दत उपात्तत्वात्। इयमेव रूपकालङ्कार-बीजं प्रतिभाति।

(४) प्रयोजनवती गौणी साध्यवसाना—यथा—'पुरेऽस्मिन् सौध-शिखरे-चन्द्रराजी विराजते'। अत्र चन्द्र-शब्दस्य स्व-सदृशे (मुखे) लक्षणा, सौध-शिखरे चन्द्राव-स्थितेर्बाधितत्वात्। सा च लक्षणा सादृश्य-सम्बन्ध-मूलकतया गौणी, विषयिणि चन्द्र एव विषयभूतस्य मुखस्याध्यवसितत्वात् साध्यवसाना चेति। तथा च 'चन्द्रराजी' चन्द्र-राजित्वेनाध्यवसिता कमनीय-कामिनीमुख-पङ्क्तिरितिभावः। इयमेव लक्षणा अतिशयोक्त्यलङ्कारस्य बीजम्।

(५ प्रयोजनवती शुद्धा जहत्-स्वार्था—यथा—गङ्गायां घोषः। इयमेव अन्यमते लक्षणलक्षणा निरूपिता प्राक्।

(६) प्रयोजनवती शुद्धा अजहत्स्वार्था—यथा—'कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति', 'यष्टयः प्रविशन्ति' इत्यादयः। इयमेवोपादानलक्षणा मम्मट-स्थापिता।

(७) प्रयोजनवती शुद्धा सारोपा—यथा—'घृतमायुः' इत्यादौ सादृश्येतरस्थ-कार्य-करण-भावादेः सम्बन्धस्य दर्शनाच्छुद्धा सारोपा। मम्मटेनेत्थमेव निरूपितं, तच्च दर्शितं पूर्वम्।

(८) प्रयोजनवती शुद्धा साध्यवसाना—यथा—'आयुः पिबामि', 'आयुरेवेदम्' इत्यादौ आयुः-पदेन विषयिणाऽनिर्दिष्टस्य विषयभूतस्य 'घृतस्य' निगीर्णत्वात् शुद्धा साध्यवसानेति मम्मट-दिगालम्बिता।

स्वकीयम्

(अ) पण्डितराजेन यथा सविधि सोद्देश्यञ्च प्रयोजनवती निरूपिता, तथा न रूढा। केवलमुदाहरणद्वयं विन्यस्य गौणीत्वं शुद्धात्वञ्च विधेय सः स्वीयामसम्मतिमिव प्रकटयन् परिलसति[३४] तथा च रूढा शुद्धैवेत्येकविधा, षड्विधया प्रयोजनवत्या सम्मिलिता सती सप्तविधामेव लक्षणां निष्पादयति, नाष्टविधाम्।

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३४. (अ) निरूढायामपि गौणीत्व-शुद्धात्वाभ्यां द्वैविध्यमामनन्ति। (रसगङ्गाधरे, द्वि०आ०, पृ० १६७) (ब) उक्तस्थलीय-'चन्द्रिका-टीकाया-माह मदनमोहन झाः—'प्राक् सामान्येन निरूढलक्षणामुक्त्वा, पश्चाद् 'गौणीत्व-शुद्धा-त्वाभ्यां द्वैविध्यमामनन्ति' इत्युल्लिखन् पण्डितराजो निरूढलक्षणाया गौणीत्वे स्वकीया-मसम्मतिमिव प्रकटयति।'

(ब) वेदान्तिभिर्जहल्लक्षणा, अजहल्लक्षणा, जहदजहल्लक्षणेति त्रिविधैव लक्षणा सम्मता,[३५] तत्वमसीत्यादि-वाक्यार्थ-विनिर्णयन-प्रसङ्गे। इयमेव जहल्लक्षणा मम्मटेन विश्वनाथेन च लक्षण-लक्षणा, पण्डितराज-श्रीमदप्पयदीक्षितनागेश-प्रभृतिभिश्च जहत्-स्वार्था समभिहिता। वेदान्तिनामजहल्लक्षणैव मम्मटविश्वनाथादिभिरुपादान-लक्षणा, पण्डितराज-श्रीमदप्पयदीक्षित-नागेशभट्ट-प्रभृतिभिश्च अजहत्स्वार्थेति प्रतिगदिता। वेदान्तिनामजहल्लक्षणैव अद्वैतवेदान्तमार्तण्डस्य शैवचक्र-चक्रवर्तिनस्साहित्य-सौभाग्यमूर्तेः शताधिक-प्रबन्ध-बन्धकस्य श्रीमदप्पयदीक्षितस्य 'जहदजहत्-स्वार्था' सम्मता 'वृत्ति-वार्तिके'। किन्तु नागेशभट्टेन नेयमभिमता 'जहदजहत्-स्वार्था' नाम लक्षणा, क्वचना-प्यनुट्टङ्कणात्। काव्यप्रकाशस्य प्रदीपोद्योताख्ययोर्व्याख्ययोस्तु जहदजहत्स्वार्थाख्याया लक्षणाया जहत्स्वार्थायामेवान्तर्भूतत्वमुद्भाव्य जहदजहत्स्वार्था नोपयोगिनीति मतं मतम्। महावैयाकरणो नागेशोऽपि गौणीं शुद्धाञ्च लक्षणां जहत्स्वार्थाऽजहत्स्वार्थाख्य-भेदाभ्यां पल्लवयति, न जहदजहत्स्वार्था नाम्नाप्युद्दिशति।[३६] अग्निपुराणे तु लाक्षणिकी-गौणी-भेदाभ्यां द्विधा औपचारिकी (लक्षणा) इति सविस्तरं प्रपञ्चितम्।[३७]

(स) लक्षणाया विविध-बुधवृन्द-निःस्यन्दितेषु भेदप्रभेदेषु निरूढा लक्षणा हि व्यङ्ग्यार्थ-रहिता[३८] भवतीति हेतोर्न काव्यशास्त्रे सा कस्यचिद् ध्वनि-भेदस्य काव्य-विशेषस्य[३९] अलङ्कार-विशेषस्य वा हेतुर्भवति, यथा कथञ्चिच्चमत्कार-चणत्वं रूढेश्चित्रितं प्राक्।

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३५. छान्दोग्योपनिषदि ६।८।७

३६. वै० सि० मञ्जूषायाम्, पृ० १००

३७. '....सोपचारिकी। सा च लाक्षणिकी गौणीलक्षणा गुण-योगतः।' (अग्निपुराणे ३४५।१०)।

३८. व्यङ्ग्येन रहिता रूढौ' (का० प्र०, पृ० ६७, ज्ञान०)

३९. (अ) 'काव्यं ध्वनिर्गुणीभूत-व्यङ्ग्यं चेति द्विधा मतम्।' (सा० द० ४।१)
(ब) '....व्यङ्क्तः, काव्यविशेषः स ध्वनिः।' (ध्वन्यालोके १।१३)

महाभारत और नाट्यशास्त्र

डा० राधावल्लभ त्रिपाठी

सागर

The *Mahābhārata* presents the different stages of growth of Indian drama in its various dimensions during pre-Bharatan period. It focusses on concepts concerning प्रेक्षागृह, नट, समाज, जवनिका, अभिनय, संगीत, छाया नाट्य and प्रयोग etc. on the occasions of sacrifices. In Vedic as well as *Mahābhārata*-period, the sacrifices provided a platform for नाट्य and संगीत. On auspicious occasions, the समाज-s were invariably organized.

महाभारत प्राचीन भारतीय नाट्य के उद्भव और विकास के इतिवृत्त की अनेक टूटी कड़ियाँ जोड़ता है। यह भरतपूर्व की रंग-परम्परा पर प्रकाश डालते हुए नाट्यशास्त्र की पीठिका प्रस्तुत करता है। रंगमंच के निम्नलिखित प्रस्थान महाभारत के आलोक में प्रकाशित होते हैं—प्रेक्षागृह, नटनर्तक, समाज, ग्रन्थिक, जवनिका, इन्द्रमहः और यज्ञ के अवसर पर नाट्यप्रयोग, अभिनय, संगीत, पुत्तलिका-नृत्य, छायानाट्य, नाट्य का भूलोक पर अवतरण आदि।

प्रेक्षागार का उल्लेख महाभारत में अनेकत्र आता है। कौरव-पाण्डव राजकुमारों के धनुर्वेद के प्रदर्शन के लिये धृतराष्ट्र ने एक विशाल प्रेक्षागार बनवाया था। यह प्रेक्षागार मूलतः नाट्यगृह भले ही न रहा हो, पर यह नाट्यपरक गतिविधियों से असम्बद्ध कदापि न था। अस्त्रविद्या के प्रदर्शन के अतिरिक्त उसका उपयोग नाट्य-प्रदर्शन के लिये भी होता था। राजकुमारों का प्रदर्शन आरम्भ होने के पूर्व इस प्रेक्षागार के रंगमंच पर नटों और नर्तकों की उपस्थिति तथा उनका गायन-वादन आदि प्रक्रान्त होने का महाभारतकार ने स्पष्ट उल्लेख किया है (आदि० २१०।१०)।

इस प्रेक्षागार में एक रंगमंच था (आदि० २१०।११) तथा स्त्रियों के बैठने के लिये शिविकाओं की व्यवस्था भी थी। प्रेक्षागृह मुक्ताजाल, स्वर्ण और मणियों से जटित था (आदि० २१०।१३)। इसके बीच के स्थल को 'रंग' कहा गया है, तथा रंग पर चलने वाले प्रदर्शन को 'प्रयोग' की संज्ञा दी गयी है।

प्रेक्षागार के निर्माण के दूसरे महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख द्रौपदी तथा दमयन्ती के स्वयंवरों के प्रसंग में आते हैं। दमयन्ती के स्वयंवर के लिये निर्मित प्रेक्षास्थली को 'रंग' तथा 'महारंग' कहा गया है (आर० ५४।११,१८) तथा उसकी उपमा पर्वत की गुफा से दी गयी है (आर० ५४।५)। भरत को भी 'शैलगुहाकार' प्रेक्षागार अभीष्ट है (ना०शा० २।८०)।

द्रौपदी के स्वयंवर के अवसर पर कई दिनों तक 'समाज' आयोजित हुआ था। 'समाज' उस समय की रंगमंच से अनुषक्त गतिविधियों को संगठित करने वाली महत्वपूर्ण संस्था थी। इसी समाज के क्रोड से सामाजिक जन्मा, जो आगे चल कर समस्त रसचिन्तन और काव्यकला का केन्द्र बना। नाट्य के उत्प्रेरक के रूप में समाज की भूमिका कामसूत्र से भी स्पष्ट है। अपनी अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता के कारण यह संस्था शासनतन्त्र के लिये भयकारण बनी होगी, तभी आगे चल कर सम्राट् अशोक ने उस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया था।

द्रौपदी के स्वयंवर में समाज के एकत्र होने के लिये 'समाज-वाट' बनाया गया था, जो समभूमि पर था, तथा जिसके चारों ओर भवन थे (आदि० १७६।१६)। यह समाज कई दिनों तक चला, जिसमें नट-नर्तकों के साथ सूत-मागध तथा वैतालिक आदि भी सम्मिलित थे। दमयन्ती के स्वयंवर में भी नट, नर्तक, वैतालिक आदि जुटे थे।

जिस प्रकार धृतराष्ट्र ने धनुर्वेद के प्रदर्शन के लिये प्रेक्षागार बनवाया था उसी प्रकार विराट् ने मल्लविद्या के प्रदर्शन के लिये विशाल प्रेक्षास्थल बनवा रखा था (विराट० १२।४)। इसके भीतर के स्थल को भी 'रंग' तथा 'महारंग' कहा गया है (वही, १२।३४)।

विराट के इस प्रेक्षागार में केवल पुरुषमल्लों का परस्पर द्वन्द्व ही नहीं, मल्ल का शार्दूल, महिष, सिंह आदि से भी द्वन्द्व आयोजित कराया जाता था। छद्मवेषधारी भीम को ऐसे बर्बर द्वन्द्वों में कई बार सम्मिलित होना पड़ा था (विराट० १८।२-३)।

इस प्रेक्षागार के अतिरिक्त विराट ने राजकुमारियों के लिये एक नर्तनशाला भी बनवायी थी, जिसे नर्तनागार और नर्तनागृह भी कहा गया है (विराट० २१।३, १६, १९)। यहां पर दिन में राजपुत्रियाँ नृत्य सीखती थीं तथा रात्रि में यह सूनी पड़ी रहती थी। वह नर्तनशाला कालिदास तथा संगीतरत्नाकर आदि में उल्लिखित राजप्रासाद की संगीतशाला से सम्बन्ध रखती है। वस्तुतः इसका उपयोग नृत्य के अतिरिक्त चुने हुए लोगों के समक्ष नाट्यप्रदर्शन के लिये भी होता था, अतः इसे अभिजात-रंगशाला (इंटीमेट थियेटर) कहना उचित है।

स्वयंवर, मल्लयुद्ध तथा अस्त्रविद्याप्रदर्शन के प्रयोजन से निर्मित प्रेक्षागार, जो आनुषंगिक रूप से नाट्य के लिये भी उपकारक थे, ग्रीक एम्फी-थियेटरों से सादृश्य

रखते हैं। बैठने की व्यवस्था इनमें वृत्ताकार जैसी होगी तथा प्रदर्शनस्थल (रंग) प्रेक्षागृह के केन्द्र में रहता था। नाट्यशास्त्र इस प्रकार के प्रेक्षागार की सम्पुष्टि या संस्तुति नहीं करता। साथ ही, ये प्रेक्षागार आकार में भी ग्रीक रंगशालाओं के समान विशाल प्रतीत होते हैं, जिनमें सहस्रों प्रेक्षक एक साथ बैठ सकते हैं, जब कि भरत मनुष्यों के लिये जिस (विकृष्ट मध्य) प्रेक्षागृह को उत्तम बताते हैं, उसमें ४०० से अधिक प्रेक्षक नहीं बैठ सकते। पर भरत की दृष्टि में अपेक्षाकृत बहुत बड़ी रंगशाला का प्रावधान भी है, भले ही वे उसे नाट्यप्रदर्शन के लिये अप्रशस्त मानते हों। नाट्यशास्त्र में नाट्यमण्डप के नाप के लिये निर्दिष्ट 'हस्तदण्डसमाश्रय' (२।९) के अनुसार केवल हस्त से नाप लेने पर ९ भेद बनते हैं, तथा उतना ही नाप दण्ड (चार हस्त=एक दण्ड—ना०शा० २।१६) से लेने पर ९ प्रकार और हो जाते हैं, जो पहले ९ प्रकारों से प्रत्येकशः आकार में चार चार गुने अधिक बड़े होते हैं। अभिनव ने न केवल दण्ड से नाप ग्रहण करने की परम्परा का समर्थन किया है, बल्कि नव प्रकार के आकार में बहुत बड़े प्रेक्षागारों की प्राचीन काल में होने की सम्भावना की ओर भी इंगित किया है। इस प्रकार ज्येष्ठ नाट्यमण्डप का नाप १०८ × १०८ हस्त के स्थान पर १०८ × १०८ दण्ड लेने पर जो रंगशाला बनेगी, उसमें सहस्रों व्यक्तियों के बैठने का अवकाश हो सकेगा। इस प्रकार की रंगशाला नागार्जुनीकोण्डा के उत्खनन में प्राप्त भी हुई है।

नाट्यशास्त्र आकार की दृष्टि से विकृष्ट, चतुरस्र और त्र्यस्र—ये तीन प्रकार की रंगशालाओं की अनुमति देता है, जब कि महाभारत में वर्णित प्रेक्षागृह वृत्ताकार प्रतीत होते हैं। शारदातनय ने भावप्रकाशन में विकृष्ट के स्थान पर 'वृत्त' पाठ स्वीकार किया है, तथा वृत्ताकार प्रेक्षागार का वर्णन किया है।

महाभारत में प्रोक्त सभी प्रेक्षागृहों में प्रदर्शनस्थली मध्य में थी। उद्घोषक को घोषणा करने के लिये इसी स्थान पर जाना पड़ता था (आर० ५४।३३) तथा नट-नर्तक भी यहीं उपस्थित होते थे। मानसार में वर्णित रंगशाला को 'मध्यरंग' कहा गया है, क्योंकि उसमें रंगमंच बीच में होता था।

महाभारत से नाट्य के उद्भव तथा स्वर्ग से उसके अवतरण के आख्यान का भी प्रकारान्तर से समर्थन मिलता है, जो नाट्यशास्त्र में निरूपित है। इन्द्र अर्जुन से कहते हैं—

'नृत्तं गीतं च कौन्तेय चित्रसेनादवाप्नुहि।
तदर्जयस्व कौन्तेय नृलोके यन्न विद्यते ॥—आर० ४५।६-७

पहले भूलोक में नाट्य नहीं था—यह बात नाट्यशास्त्र की ही तरह यहां भी कही गयी है तथा उसके गन्धर्वों और अप्सराओं के माध्यम से अवतरण का वर्णन

है। आगे चलकर राणा कुम्भा ने अपने **नृत्तरत्नकोष** में नाट्य के धरती पर प्रथमावतार की परम्पराओं का निरूपण करते हुए कहा है कि उसे चित्ररथ से अर्जुन ने तथा अर्जुन (बृहन्नला) से उत्तरा ने पाया। इस प्रकार **नाट्यशास्त्र** में पुराकथा के द्वारा नाट्य की गतिविधियों का हिमालय के उपान्तवर्ती प्रदेश में सबसे पहले सक्रिय होना तथा वहाँ के निवासियों (गन्धर्वों और अप्सराओं आदि) से उसका अन्य समाजों में ग्रहण संकेतित है, जिसका **महाभारत** भी समर्थन करता है।

महाभारत में नाट्यविषयक एक महत्वपूर्ण सन्दर्भ यज्ञ में नाट्य के आयोजन का है। वैदिक काल में यज्ञ ने नाट्य को एक देशकालानुरूप तथा सुदृढ़ मंच उसके समुचित विकास के लिये प्रदान किया था। यज्ञ उस समय समस्त जाति के हर्षोल्लास की अभिव्यक्ति का सामाजिक माध्यम था। महाभारत काल में यज्ञ का स्वरूप किंचित् बदला और वह राजाओं और सामन्तों पर अधिक निर्भर हुआ। पर यज्ञ का उत्सवधर्मी स्वरूप बना रहा तथा यज्ञ में नृत्य, संगीत आदि के प्रदर्शनों की परम्परा भी जारी रही। युधिष्ठिर के अश्वमेध यज्ञ में नृत्य, संगीत आदि के अनुष्ठान हुए थे। (आश्व० ९०।३६-४०)।

महाभारत दिलीप के यज्ञ के विवरण में यज्ञीय यूप का एक अनदेखा अभिप्राय प्रकट करता है। इस यज्ञ में स्वर्णमय यूप बनाया गया था, जिसके चारों ओर इन्द्रादि देवों और गन्धर्वों ने नृत्य किया, उसके साथ विश्वावसु ने वीणा बजायी (अनु० २९।६७-६९)। यह उल्लेख हमें योरोपीय रंगमंच के उद्भव के लिये प्रस्तुत मे-पोल सिद्धान्त की याद दिलाता है।

वैदिक काल में यज्ञ से अनुषक्त एक विशिष्ट सामाजिक प्रक्रिया घटी थी, जिससे सूत जाति का उदय हुआ था। **यजुर्वेद** के अनुसार यह सूत प्रारम्भ से ही नृत्त, गीत आदि ललित कलाओं से जुड़ा हुआ था। सूत जाति वर्णसंकर होने के कारण अनेक व्यवसायों में लगी थी। सूत यज्ञ-वेदिका के निर्माण के लिये सूत्र ले कर अवतरित हुआ, और नाट्ययज्ञ का भी सूत्रधार बना। यज्ञ-वेदिका तथा अन्य प्रकार के वास्तुविषयक कार्यों को सम्पादित करने के कारण वह "स्थपति" कहलाया और नाटक की स्थापना का भी स्थापक बना। आख्यान-उपाख्यान, इतिहास-पुराणों आदि की समाज के सम्मुख व्याख्या करता हुआ वह पौराणिक के रूप में भी सांस्कृतिक दृश्यपट पर छाया रहा, फिर उपाख्यान को कुशीलवों की सहायता से मंच पर प्रस्तुत करते हुए नाटक का उपक्रम किया (भोज ने भी उपाख्यान के अभिनय, संगीत, पाठ आदि से संवलित होकर ग्रंथिक के द्वारा नाट्य में परिवर्तित किये जाने का संकेत किया है)। **महाभारत** ने सूतजाति के इस विविध व्यवसायग्रहणनैपुण्य तथा अद्भुत उद्यमशीलता को उसके कई विशेषणों के द्वारा विशद किया है—

स्थपतिर्बुद्धिसम्पन्नः वास्तुविद्याविशारदः।
इत्यब्रवीत् सूत्रधारः सूतः पौराणिकस्तथा॥

सूत का यह उल्लेख जनमेजय के सर्पयज्ञ के प्रसंग में आया है, जब यज्ञायतन बनाया जा रहा था। यज्ञ-वेदिका बनाने वाला सूत ही सूत्रधार, पौराणिक और स्थपति कहलाने लगा था—यह यहाँ स्पष्ट है। नीलकण्ठ ने उचित ही अपनी टीका में सूत को 'शिल्पग्रामवेत्ता' कहा है। सूत अपने समय की ललित और शिल्प-कलाओं का प्रवर्तक बन गया था।

यह समय था जब सूत जाति के लोग नट-नर्तक, चारण, मागध, कुशीलव, ग्रन्थिक आदि समाज में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान बना रहे थे तथा अपने उद्यम के बल पर विषम परिस्थितियों से उबर रहे थे। महाभारत के अनुसार उन्होंने अपने लिये एक पूरा नगर (चम्पा) ही बसा लिया था। वर्ण-संकर होने के कारण उन्हें उन सारे व्यवसायों में लगा दिया गया था, जो ब्राह्मणों और क्षत्रियों के लिये उपयोगी या उनके महत्ववर्धक हो सकते थे। उनकी इस उपयोगिता तथा कर्मठता के कारण अभिजात वर्ग जहाँ एक ओर उनकी उत्कृष्टता स्वीकार करता था, वहीं वर्णक्रम में उन्हें निकृष्ट भी मानता था। एक ओर भीष्म सूत-मागध, कुशीलव आदि को नगर की शोभा की अभिवृद्धि के लिये नगर में अच्छी तरह बसाने का निर्देश राजा को देते हैं (शान्ति ६७।५८), दूसरी ओर वे इनकी गणना चोर-दस्युओं के साथ भी करते हैं (अनु० ३३।११) तथा ब्राह्मणों को इनके साथ भोजन करने या इनके संसर्ग में आने से मना करते हैं (शान्ति०, ३७।२९)। अभिजात वर्ग की इस द्विधाभूत मनोदशा के होते हुए भी सूत जाति अपनी गुणवत्ता के कारण समाज के लिये अपरिहार्य बन गयी थी। भीष्म के अन्तिम दर्शन के लिये समाज के अन्य वर्गों के साथ सूत, नट-नर्तक आदि को भी अनुमति दी गयी थी (भीष्म० ११६।४)।

केवल यज्ञ के ही अवसर पर नहीं, अन्य मांगलिक अवसरों पर भी नृत्य-नाट्य आदि का आयोजन महाभारत में वर्णित है। परीक्षित के पुनरुज्जीवन के अवसर पर महान् उत्सव हुआ, जिसमें मल्ल, झल्ल, नट, सूत, मागध, ग्रन्थिक आदि सम्मिलित थे (आश्व० ६९।३-७)। नाट्यशास्त्र भी आमोद-प्रमोद के विभिन्न अवसरों पर नृत्य-नाट्य आदि की प्रस्तुति की अनुशंसा करता है (४।२०६-७)।

इन्द्रमहः भी ऐसा ही अवसर था। ऊपर उल्लिखित दिलीप के यज्ञ के वर्णन में महाभारत यूप के चारों ओर प्रवृत्त नृत्य, संगीत आदि से इन्द्र का सम्बन्ध जोड़ता है। यूप की भाँति इन्द्रमहः पर इन्द्रध्वज निर्मित किया जाता था, जिसका उल्लेख भी महाभारत करता है (शल्य ११।५२)।

ऐसे उत्सवों के अतिरिक्त विभिन्न गोष्ठियों या किसी भी शुभ अवसर पर नट-नर्तक उपस्थित हो सकते थे। प्रभास क्षेत्र में यादवों की पानगोष्ठी में वे आये थे (मौसल ९।१४), युधिष्ठिर के दान-महोत्सव में नट-नर्तक लास्य बिखेर रहे थे

(आश्रम २०।१६), रैवतक पर्वत पर आयोजित उत्सव में उनका गीत-नृत्य-संगीत का आयोजन हुआ था (आदि २११।४) ।

नट-नर्तक, सूत-मागध आदि के साथ एक विशिष्ट वर्ग का उल्लेख नृत्य-नाट्य आदि के प्रसंगों मे महाभारत में आया है—वह ग्रन्थिक है। परीक्षित के पुनरुज्जीवन के अवसर पर आयोजित उत्सव में ग्रन्थिक भी अपना कर्म प्रस्तुत कर रहे थे (आश्व ६९।४)। वे ऐसे किसी भी अवसर पर राजसभा या जनसमाज के बीच दिखायी पड़ते थे (आश्व ६७।६)। ग्रन्थिक का काम ग्रन्थ से पुराकथा का पाठ करते हुए उसे गायन तथा अभिनय के साथ प्रस्तुत करना होता था—यह बाद में पतंजलि भोज तथा बाण के उल्लेखों से स्पष्ट होता है।

महाभारत में नाट्य से सम्बद्ध अन्य उल्लेख 'पुत्तलिका' (दारुयोषा) तथा छायानाट्य के हैं। दूसरा उल्लेख सन्दिग्ध है। सूत्र से संचालित लकड़ी की पुतली का उल्लेख दो बार हुआ है (उद्योग ३२।१२, ३९।१) तथा कुमारियों के द्वारा क्रीडार्थ प्रयुक्त पांचालिका का उल्लेख (विराट ३५।२३) इससे भिन्न है। छायानाट्य का उल्लेख 'रूपोपजीवनम्' शब्द के प्रयोग में माना गया है, जिसकी व्याख्या करते हुए नीलकण्ठ ने कहा है कि इसमें चर्म से आवृत आकृतियों की छाया दिखा कर प्रदर्शन किया जाता था।

महाभारत के समय तक नाटक में 'जवनिका' का प्रयोग होने लगा होगा। इन जवनिकाओं पर उपयुक्त कथा-प्रसंग के दृश्य चित्रित होते थे। महाभारत युद्ध-भूमि के दारुण दृश्य को जवनिका पर अंकित ऐसे ही प्रलापपूर्ण कथा से उपमित करता है (प्रलापयुक्ता महती कथान्यस्था पटे यथा—शल्य १।४०) जवनिका पर अंकित दृश्य से युद्ध के दृश्य की उपमा अन्यत्र भी महाभारतकार ने दी है (द्रोण १२३।३८)। उत्सव के अवसर पर उमड़ता नर-नारी-समुदाय ऐसा लगता है जैसे दृश्यावली से चित्रित पट आगे बढ़ा आ रहा हो—

तदुत्सवमहोदग्रं हृष्टनारीनराकुलम्।
ददृशे बलमायान्तं चित्रं पटगतं यथा॥ —आश्रम ४०।२०।

संगीत, नृत्य तथा नाट्य से सम्बद्ध वह पारिभाषिक शब्दावली महाभारत में स्थान-स्थान पर प्रयुक्त है, जो आगे चल कर नाट्यशास्त्र में व्यवस्थित हुई है। उदाहरणार्थ—गन्धर्वों के द्वारा प्रयुक्त संगीत में शम्या, ताल, प्रमाण, लयस्थान और तानों का यथान्याय प्रयोग किया गया था (सभा ३१-३३)। नृत्य और नृत्त शब्दों का प्रयोग महाभारत में पृथक्-पृथक् किया गया है। 'गीतवादित्र' और गीतवादित्रनृत्य का प्रयोग भी विशिष्ट अर्थों में है (सभा ४।३१, तथा शान्ति ३०१।२७, १८४।१६)। रंगमंच पर दिखाये गये एक खेल (शो) के लिये 'प्रेक्षा' शब्द प्रयुक्त है, जो नाट्यशास्त्र

तथा कामसूत्र में इसी अर्थ में व्यवहृत हुआ है (सभा १८।३)। रंग तथा समाज शब्दों का प्रयोग प्रेक्षकसमूह के अर्थ में भी हुआ है (आदि १२५।२९, १२६।२७ तथा आदि १२९।१६, १२६।७)।

नाट्यशास्त्र तथा संस्कृत नाटक में प्रयुक्त पारिभाषिक शब्दावली को महाभारत-कालीन समाज गढ़ रहा था, तथा नाट्यशास्त्रीय प्रतिक्रियाओं को अपने बीच विकसित कर रहा था। उदाहरणार्थ—पुरोहित आदि महाभारत-काल में राजा की प्रशस्ति के लिये 'नान्दी' का पाठ करते थे (शान्ति ८३।६५), जिसका अधिग्रहण नाट्यशास्त्र तथा संस्कृत नाटक ने कर लिया। इसी प्रकार 'सौष्ठव' नाट्यशास्त्र के अभिनयदर्शन का महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त है, जो नृत्य के सन्दर्भ में महाभारत में भी विन्यस्त है (उद्योग ९।१५)।

अभिनय-मुद्राओं का जो विशद शास्त्र भरत ने निरूपित किया, उसके निर्माण की प्रक्रिया का एक चरण महाभारत में स्पष्ट होता है। महाभारत-कालीन प्रेक्षागार में गान्धर्ववेद धनुर्वेद तथा मल्लविद्या के संसर्ग में उसी तरह आता है, जिस प्रकार वह वैदिककाल में यज्ञ की उपादान-सामग्री के संसर्ग में यज्ञ मण्डप में प्रयुक्त होने के कारण आ चुका था। वैदिक काल में वह याज्ञिक अभिप्रायों से संवलित हुआ, तो इस काल में मल्लविद्या के उपादानों और अभिप्रायों की नाट्य में संक्रान्ति स्वाभाविक थी। दो मल्ल द्वन्द्व युद्ध में आवर्त, करणों तथा चारियों का उपयोग करते थे, जिसका उल्लेख महाभारत में है (शल्य ११।८-१०)। आगे चल कर ये मण्डल, करण और चारियाँ नृत्य और नाट्य में संक्रमित हो जाते हैं। भरत ने करणों, चारियों आदि के नियमित अभ्यास की अभिनेताओं के शारीरिक स्वास्थ्य तथा व्यायाम की दृष्टि से भी संस्तुति की है। नट जाति के लिये मल्लविद्या के चमत्कारों को सीख कर उनका प्रदर्शन करना महाभारत काल के क्षत्रियप्रधान समाज में आवश्यक हो गया होगा। इसीलिये महाभारत नट का उल्लेख प्रायः मल्ल के साथ करता है। (आगे चल कर मल्लविद्या के करतब दिखाने वाली जाति को महाभारत काल में प्रवर्तित इसी परम्परा के कारण 'नट' कहा जाता रहा। दशकुमारचरित में विश्रुत अस्त्रविद्या के चमत्कारपूर्ण प्रदर्शन में अनेक प्रकार के 'करणों' का प्रयोग करता है, जिससे भी अस्त्रविद्या के प्रस्थानों की नाट्यशास्त्रीय प्रस्थानों के साथ परस्पर संक्रान्ति समर्थित होती है)।

नाट्य और युद्ध का नैकट्य महाभारत में अन्यथा भी सूचित है। युद्ध के वर्णनों में नाट्य के बिम्बों, उपमानों का उपयोग सर्वथा आकस्मिक नहीं है। दुर्योधन का शिविर रंगमंच है, तथा उसके आसपास जुटे सैनिक प्रेक्षक (शल्य ६।४)। कोई योद्धा क्रोध में ओष्ठ को दाँत से चबाता हुआ एक हथेली पर दूसरी हथेली पटकता, तो वह नृत्य के साथ ताल देता हुआ लगता (कर्ण ६३।१३)। यही नहीं, महाभारत

काल में युद्ध के पूर्व विभिन्न वाद्य बजाये जाते थे, और युद्ध के बीच में नृत्य भी होता था (कर्ण २।३)।

महाभारत हमारे रंगमंच के बहु-आयामी संक्रान्ति काल की छवि प्रस्तुत करते हुए उन विभिन्न अवस्थाओं को भी प्रकट करता है, जिनसे भरत के पहले हमारा रंगमंच गुजरा था। इस काल में एक ओर रोमन रंगशालाओं के समस्त सुदीर्घ प्रेक्षागार पुरुषमल्लों के साथ बर्बर पशुओं के द्वन्द्व-प्रदर्शन का हिंसक आनन्द पाने के लिये प्रयुक्त हो रहे थे, दूसरी ओर धनुर्विद्या के प्रदर्शन के लिये बने प्रेक्षागार नाट्य, नृत्य के सौष्ठव से समन्वित हो कर परिष्कार की ओर बढ़ रहे थे तथा मल्लविद्या में प्रयुक्त शारीरिक चेष्टाओं को रमणीक नृत्यमुद्राओं में ढाला जा रहा था। विशाल सार्वजनिक रंगशालाओं के साथ अभिजात वर्ग की छोटी रंगशालाओं में नाट्य अपनी कमनीयता ढूंढ़ रहा था। नाट्य सामाजिक संस्थाओं से संश्लिष्ट हो कर तथा तदनुरूप ढल कर ही अपनी पहचान बनता है। महाभारत का काल भारतीय रंगमंच के व्यवस्थापन और समृद्धि के लिये सर्वथा अनुकूल और उर्वर था, तथा नाट्यशास्त्र और उसके बाद की रंगपरम्परा को उससे जोड़ कर समझना आवश्यक है।

अपभ्रंशेषु शक्तिविचारः

श्री भगवत्शरणशुक्लः

प्रयागः

The relation between the uttered word and the meaning is eternal, natural and fixed and is made known through convention (*Saṅketa*). The correct word is the origin of the incorrect one. The corrupt form causes the inference of the correct one as smoke of the fire. The corrupt form expresses the meaning either due to its identity with the correct word or due to its customary usage. It is never used as synonym of the correct word.

प्रमाणाद्धि प्रमेयसिद्धिरितिनियमात् सर्वा अपि प्रवृत्तयः प्रमाणमूला एव । प्रमाणत्वं नाम–"अनुभवत्वव्याप्यजात्यवच्छिन्नप्रमावृत्ति कार्यतानिरूपितकारणताशालित्वे सति व्यापारवत्त्वमिति" तर्कप्रकाशे शितिकण्ठः । स्वसमानाधिकरणस्वाव्यवहितपूर्ववर्तिस्वसमानाकारनिश्चयविषयविषयकेतरतद्वद्विशेष्यकतत्प्रकारकानुभवकारणत्वम् इति न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिटीकायाञ्चेति बोध्यम् । वैयाकरणसम्मतेषु प्रत्यक्षानुमानशब्दाभ्यासादृष्टप्रमाणेषु च शब्दप्रमाणमेव सर्वातिशायीत्यूरीकृतं त्रयीवित्सिद्धान्तानुसारिभिः । आप्तोपदेशरूपः शब्दः प्रमाणम् । आप्तो नाम "अनुभवेन वस्तुतत्त्वस्य कार्त्स्न्येन निश्चयवान् रागादिवशादपि नान्यथावादी" इति चरके पतञ्जलिराह । फलसाधनांशे भ्रान्तिरहितत्वमिति केचित् ।

शब्दश्च वृत्तिज्ञानसहकृत एव प्रमां जनयति । अगृहीतवृत्तिकस्य शाब्दबोधादर्शनात् । अतः तत्पदजन्यतत्प्रकारकतद्विशेष्यकशाब्दबोधं प्रति तत्पदजन्योपस्थितिः हेतुरिति कार्यकारणभावेनोपपत्तिरिति वक्तुं न शक्यते समवायसम्बन्धेन शब्दस्याकाशे सत्त्वात् तस्यापि बोधापत्तेः । अतः तत्पदजन्यतत्प्रकारकतद्विशेष्यकशाब्दबोधं प्रति तद्धर्मावच्छिन्ननिरूपितवृत्तिविशिष्टज्ञानं कारणमिति वृत्तिज्ञानघटितकार्यकारणभाव एवोरीकर्तव्यः । ज्ञाने वृत्ति वैशिष्ट्यञ्च—स्वविषयकोद्बुद्धसंस्कारसामानाधिकरण्य, स्वाश्रयपदविषयकत्वोभयसम्बन्धेन ।

एतेन अगृहीतवृत्तिकस्य, विस्मृतवृत्तिकस्य, तत्पदमजानतः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावव्यत्यासेन गृहीतवृत्तिकस्य, घटपदाश्रयत्वेनोपस्थिताकाशस्य, जनकतयोपस्थितचैत्रादेश्च बोधः अपास्तः ।

वृत्तित्वं नामात्र शाब्दबोधोपयिकपदपदार्थोभयनिरूपितसम्बन्धत्वम्। सा च वृत्तिस्त्रिधा। शक्तिर्लक्षणा व्यञ्जना च। आसु च शक्तिरेव मुख्या वृत्तिः। इयमेव शक्तिरभिधेत्यपि व्यपदिश्यते तत्र शक्तेः स्वरूपं किमिति जिज्ञासायामत्र—

आनुमानिकाः

इयञ्च शक्तिः "अस्मात् पदादयमर्थो बोद्धव्यः" इत्यर्थविशेष्यिका, "इदं पदममुमर्थं बोधयतु" इति पदविशेष्यिका चेत्याकारिकेश्वरेच्छैव नत्वतिरिक्तः पदार्थः। इयञ्चेश्वरेच्छा पदे, अर्थे जन्यजनकभावे बोधे च विषयत्व-सम्बन्धेन वर्तते इति अस्यां पदपदार्थसम्बन्धत्वरूपं वृत्तित्वं सूपपादम्। अत्र हीच्छारूपशक्तेः विषयत्वं यद्यपि पदे अर्थे च तुल्यं तथापि बोधनिष्ठजन्यतानिरूपकजनकतावत्त्वेन विषयो वाचकः इच्छीयबोधनिष्ठविषयितानिरूपितविषयतावत्त्वेन विषयो वाच्यः। इत्थमर्थपदयोः वाच्यवाचकभावः व्यवतिष्ठते। आधुनिकसङ्केतितेषु वृद्धादिपदेषु ईश्वरेच्छायाःशक्तेः अभावात् तत्तच्छास्त्रकारसङ्केतग्रहादेव ततः तत्तदर्थबोधः। आधुनिके नाम्नि तु "एकादशेऽहनि पिता नाम कुर्यात्" इतीश्वरेच्छायाः सत्त्वात् शक्तिरस्त्येव। इति प्राचीनाः।

नव्यास्तु इच्छामात्रं शक्तिः। न तु ईश्वरेच्छैव। अतः आधुनिकसङ्केतितेषु नदीवृद्ध्यादिपदेषु शक्तिरस्त्येव। शक्तिः सङ्केतश्चेत्युभयोः पृथक्-पृथग्बोधप्रयोजकत्वं न स्वीकार्यमिति लाघवमिति वदन्ति।

अत्र शाब्दिकाः

प्राचीनास्तावत्

इन्द्रियाणां स्वविषयेष्वनादिर्योग्यता यथा।
अनादिरर्थैः शब्दानां सम्बन्धो योग्यता तथा॥ वा० प० ३।३।२९॥

इति हरिकारिकामुद्धरन्तः अनादिबोधजनकतामेव शक्तिमातिष्ठन्ते। बोधजनकता चाश्रयता सम्बन्धेन पदे निरूपकत्वसम्बन्धेन अर्थे च त्रियते। बोधजनकतायाः शक्यार्थ इव लक्ष्यार्थतीरादावपि सत्त्वात् तेषां मते न लक्षणावृत्तिः।

नव्यशाब्दिकास्तु

तार्किकाभ्युपेतमीश्वरेच्छारूपमिच्छारूपं वा प्राचीनशाब्दिकसम्मतमर्थबोधजनकतारूपञ्च शक्तिस्वरूपन्नोपपद्यते। शक्तिग्राहकशिरोमणिना प्रयोज्यप्रयोजकवृद्धव्यवहारेण तस्या दुर्ग्रहत्वात्। तथाहि प्रयोजक (प्रवर्तक) वृद्धोदीरितं "घटमानये"ति वाक्यमाकर्ण्य घटमानयन्तं प्रयोज्य (प्रवर्त्य) वृद्धमवेक्षमाणो बालको घटानयनं, प्रवृत्तिजन्यं, चेष्टात्वात्, मदीयस्तन्यपानादिचेष्टावदित्यनुमानेन प्रयोज्यवृद्धस्य घटानयनानुकूलप्रवृत्तिमनुमाय, सा प्रवृत्तिर्घटकर्मकानयनधर्मिककार्यताज्ञानजन्या, प्रवृत्तित्वात् मदीयप्रवृत्तिवद् इत्यनुमानेन घटकर्मकानयनधर्मिककार्यताज्ञानं प्रयोज्यवृद्धस्यानुमाय,

तच्च कार्यताज्ञानं घटमानयेति वाक्यजन्यं तदन्वयव्यतिरेकानुविधायित्वादित्यनुमानेन तत्र वाक्ये तादृशज्ञानजनकत्वमनुमिनोति। अनन्तरं चावापोद्वापगृहीतान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां पदेष्वपि पदार्थबोधकतामवगम्य तत्तद्विषयासन्निकृष्टानामिन्द्रियाणां तत्तद्विषयकप्रत्यक्ष-जनकत्वस्येवार्था सम्बद्धानां पदानामर्थबोधजनकत्वस्यानुपपत्त्या तदुपपादकत्वेनार्थपदयोः शक्तिरूपमेवासौ सम्बन्धं कल्पयति। सम्बन्धत्वं नाम सबन्धिभिन्नत्वे सति द्विष्ठत्वे सति विशिष्टप्रतीतिनियामकत्वम्। तादृशं सम्बन्धत्वमिच्छायान्न विद्यते! पूर्वोक्तप्रकारेण इच्छायाः विषयतासम्बन्धेन पदपदार्थयोः सत्त्वेऽपि इच्छाविषयतायाः आश्रयतानियाम-कत्वाभावेन विषयतासम्बन्धेनेच्छायां द्विष्ठत्वं वक्तुं न शक्यम्। नहि विषयः इच्छावान् इति कस्यचित् प्रतीतिर्भवति। तथैवार्थविषयकबोधजनकत्वस्य शक्तिस्वीकारे शाब्द-बोधं प्रति शक्तिज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वस्वीकारे शक्तिज्ञानं कारणमित्यस्य बोधजनकत्वज्ञानं कारणमित्यर्थकतया शक्तिज्ञाननिष्ठशाब्दबोधजनकतायाः शक्तिज्ञाने विशेषणतया भास-मानानामवच्छेदकत्वं सर्वसम्मतम्, तच्च न सिध्यति, अवच्छेद्या बोधजनकता अव-च्छेदिकापि शक्तिज्ञाने विशेषणीभूता बोधजनकतैवेत्यात्माश्रयेण स्वस्यैव स्वावच्छेदकत्वा-सम्भवात्। अपि चान्यत्र प्रमेयसम्बन्धानां प्रमाणानां जनकत्वतद्घटितातिरिक्त-सम्बन्धेनैव बोधजनकत्वदर्शनाद् इहापि जनकतायाः तद्घटतेश्वरेच्छाया वा पदपदार्थ-सम्बन्धत्वं नोपपद्यते। तस्याः बोधजनकतायाः आश्रयतया पदे निरूपकतया अर्थे सत्त्वेऽपि तयोः परस्परं जनकत्वरूपसम्बन्धस्य दुरूपपादत्वात्। यद्यपि विषयज्ञानकर्त्रो-रुभयोरपि कारणत्वं ज्ञानरूपकार्यं प्रत्यस्ति तथापि जनकत्वसम्बन्धेन विषयविशिष्टः कर्ता कर्तृविशिष्टो विषयो वेति विशिष्टबुद्धिर्न भवति। अतः पदपदार्थयोरिच्छाबोध-जनकत्वातिरिक्तसम्बन्धान्तरमेव शक्तिः। सा च वाच्यवाचकभावापरपर्याया। तद्ग्रा-हकश्चेतरेतराध्यासमूलं तादात्म्यम्। तच्च सङ्केतः। तस्यापि पदनिष्ठशक्त्युपकारकत्वात् शक्तिरिति व्यवहारः तस्य सम्बन्धत्वाभावात्। भेदाभेदरूपस्य तस्य सम्बन्धत्वासम्भवेन तद्घटकस्य भेदस्याभेदस्य वा सम्बन्धत्वादर्शनात्। "सङ्केतस्तु पदपदार्थयोरितरा-ध्यासरूपः स्मृत्यात्मकः योऽयं शब्दः सोऽर्थः। योऽर्थः स शब्दः" इति पातञ्जलभाष्ये सङ्केतस्य स्वरूपमुक्तम्। किञ्च पाणिन्यादिस्मार्तसङ्केतस्यैव वाचकतानियामकत्वं नत्वाधुनिकस्येत्याद्यपि दर्शितम्।

एवञ्चाधुनिकसंकेतस्थले द्वादशेऽह्नि क्रियमाणनामस्थले च लक्षणा। तत्र घटकृष्णादिगुणाद्यारोपेण तन्मूलकतत्प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तारोपेण च बोधः। सम्बन्धश्च तत्र स्वशक्तसंकेतविषयत्वम्। एतदर्थमेव संकेतोपयोगः।

इत्थं पूर्वनिरूपिताशक्तिः यथा साधुषु तथैवापभ्रंशेष्वपि अस्ति न वा इत्येवात्र विचार्यते।

अत्र तार्किकाः

अपभ्रंशशब्देषु शक्तिर्नास्ति। तैर्बोधस्तु व्युत्पन्नानां साधुशब्दानां स्मरणेन भवति। तथा चोक्तम् वाक्यपदीये—

ते साधुष्वनुमानेन प्रत्ययोत्पत्तिहेतवः ।। वा०प० ।। १।१५१।

अम्बाम्बेति यदा बालः शिक्ष्यमाणोऽपभासते,
अव्यक्तां तद्विदां तेन व्यक्ते भवति निश्चयः ।।

वा०प० ।। १।१५३ ।

असाधोः साधुप्रकृतित्वात् सादृश्येन तज्ज्ञानमिति ज्ञातव्यम् । यथा घड़ेति भाषा शब्दः अनेन घटशब्दः स्मर्यते ततो बोधः अव्युत्पन्नानां पामराणां शक्तिभ्रमाद् बोधो भवति । यतोहि कश्चिद् प्रयोजकवृद्धः वागिन्द्रियदोषवशाद् घड़ेति शब्दं घटार्थे प्रयुक्तवान् तं श्रुत्वा प्रयोज्यः घटमानीतवान्, तदा बोद्धा बालः घटेऽर्थे घड़ेति घट-पदस्यार्थं जानाति । सोऽपि अन्यस्यै तस्यैव तस्मिन्नर्थे प्रयोगं विधास्यति । एवं शक्तिभ्रम-परम्परायाः सत्त्वाद् अव्युत्पन्नानां शक्तिभ्रमादेव बोधः । शक्तिबोधकव्यवहारस्य तुल्यत्वे तत्तद्देशभेदेन भिन्नेषु तेषु तेषु शक्तिकल्पने गौरवं स्यात् । एषु च पर्यायतुल्यता न शङ्क्या साधुपर्यायाणां सर्वदेशेष्वेकत्वात् विनिगमनाविरहेण सर्वत्र शक्तिकल्पनाव-श्यकी । न ह्यपभ्रंशेषु सर्वदेशेष्वेकरूपता । अन्यथा तेषामपि पर्यायतया गणनापत्तेः । अत एव संस्कृतकोषादौ तेषां न पाठः । अपि चापभ्रंशे शक्तिस्वीकारे काव्ये च्युत-संस्कृतेः दोषत्वं न स्यात्, तद्बीजस्य शब्दबोधाजनकत्वस्याभावादित्याहुः ।

अत्र मीमांसकास्तावत्

नैयायिकानामिवापभ्रंशेषु शक्तिभ्रमादेव बोधं स्वीकुर्वन्ति । तथाहि अपभ्रंशा अपि साधवः तेऽपि साधयन्त्यर्थमिति पूर्वपक्षे "अन्यायश्चानेकशब्दत्वम्" मी० सू० १।३।२६।। इति सूत्रम् । केचिदेव साधवो न सर्वे इति मनसि निधाय तर्हि साधुशब्द-प्रयोक्तव्ये कथमसाधूच्चारणमित्याशङ्क्य "शब्दे प्रयत्ननिष्पत्तेरपराधस्य भागित्वम्" ।। १।३।२५।। इति सूत्रेण शब्दविषयकनिष्पत्तेरपराधस्य यत्नान्तरकरणरूपवैपरीत्यस्योच्चा-रयितुर्भागित्वमित्यर्थकेन प्रमादात् गाव्यादयः प्रयुज्यन्ते यथा शुष्के पतिष्यामीति कर्दमे पतति, सकृद् उपस्प्रक्ष्यामीति द्विरुपस्पृशति । ततोऽपराधात् प्रवृत्ता गाव्यादयो भवेयुः न नियोगतोऽविच्छिन्नपारम्पर्या एवेति । तत्रेदमाशङ्क्येत यथा गाव्यादीनां गौरिति प्रयोक्तव्ये प्रमादात् प्रयोगः तथा कथं न गगर्यादीनामपि तदेदं सूत्रं "तदशक्तिश्चानुरूप-त्वात्" ।।१।३।२८।। तस्य उच्चारयितुः करणवैकल्यादशक्तिरसामर्थ्यात् गौरित्यादि शब्दोच्चारणेऽनुरूपत्वात् तदर्थेऽपभ्रंशगाव्यादीनामुच्चारणम्, नहि तेषामपभ्रंशानां शक्तिरिति सूत्रार्थः । अस्य व्याख्याता शबरस्वामी "अथ यदुक्तम् अर्थोऽवगम्यते गाव्यादिभ्यः अतः एषामप्यनादिरर्थे सम्बन्ध इति । तदशक्तिरेषां गम्यते । गोशब्द-मुच्चारयितुकामेन केनचिदशक्त्या 'गावी' इत्युच्चरितम् । अपरेण ज्ञातम् सास्नादिमान् अस्य विवक्षितस्तदर्थे "गौः" इत्युच्चारयितुकामः 'गावी' इत्युच्चारयति । ततः शिक्षित्वा अपरेऽपि सास्नादिमति विवक्षिते गावी इत्युच्चारयन्ति । तेन गाव्यादिभ्यः

सास्नादिमानर्थोऽवगम्यते अनुरूपो हि गाव्यादिर्गोशब्दस्य'' इत्थमाह । इत्थञ्चापभ्रंशानां शक्तिभ्रमादेव बोधो न तत्र शक्तिरित्याहुः ।

अत्र वैयाकरणाः

सा शक्तिस्साधुष्विवापभ्रंशेष्वप्यस्त्येव । शक्तिग्राहकशिरोमणेः व्यवहारस्य तुल्यत्वात् । ''एकसम्बन्धिज्ञानमपरसम्बन्धिस्मारकं'' भवतीति नियमात् व्यवहारदर्शनेन च पूर्वजन्मानुभूतशक्तिस्मरणम् । अतएव बालानां तिरश्चां चान्वयबोधः । नहि तेषामाद्यबोधकाल एव शक्तिग्रहसम्भवः । साधुस्मरणं विनापि बोधस्यानुभवसिद्धत्वात् । तदर्थज्ञापकत्वेन नार्थोपस्थापकं शक्ततावच्छेदकानुपूर्व्यग्रहात्, सर्वनामस्मरणाननुभवाच्च, उच्चारितस्यैव बोधकत्वेन स्मृतसाधुशब्देन बोधासम्भवाच्च । तद्वाचकसाधुशब्दमजानतामव्युत्पन्नानां शक्तिभ्रमाद्बोध इत्यपि न युक्तम् । भ्रमस्य सन्देहपूर्वकत्वनियमात् सन्देहासम्भवेन भ्रमत्वायोगात् । तथाहि दूरतश्चाकचिक्य दर्शनेनेयं शुक्तिः रजतं वेति सन्देहे धनिनां गृहसामीप्यज्ञानवशात् शुक्ताविदं रजतमिति यथावधारणं तथा नात्र सन्देहोत्पादकं किञ्चित्कारणं प्रतीयते । भ्रमत्वं नाम तद्धर्माभाववन्निष्ठविशेष्यतानिरूपिततद्धर्मनिष्ठप्रकारताकत्वेसति ज्ञानत्वम् । तादृशमपि भ्रमत्वं शक्त्यभाववन्निष्ठविशेष्यतानिरूपितशक्तिनिष्ठप्रकारताकत्वाभावेन नास्ति । अत एव स्त्रीशूद्रबालादीनामुच्चारिते साधावर्थसंशये तदपभ्रंशेनार्थनिर्णयः । अत एव ''समानायामर्थावगतौ शब्दैश्चापशब्दैश्च शास्त्रेधर्मनियमः'' इति सङ्गच्छते ।

उक्तञ्च वाक्यपदीये ब्रह्मकाण्डे—

''पारम्पर्यादपभ्रंशा विगुणेष्वभिधातृषु ।
प्रसिद्धिमागता येषु तेषां साधुरवाचकाः ।।
दैवी वाग्व्यवकीर्णेयमशक्तैरभिधातृभिः ।
अनित्यदर्शिनां त्वस्मिन् वादे बुद्धिविपर्ययः ।।'' वा०प० १।१५३

किञ्च तत्तत्संस्कृतस्य तत्तदपभ्रंशेन विनिगमनाविरहात् तेषु शक्तिरस्ति । सकलदेशशिष्टपरिगृहीतत्वं विनिगमकमिति चेत् ''शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेषु विकार एवैनमार्या भाषन्ते'' इत्यादि भाष्यरीत्या तत्तद्देशनियतसंस्कृतेषु शक्तिसिद्ध्यनापत्तेः ।

किञ्चापभ्रंशानामशक्तत्वबोधनादार्यम्लेच्छाधिकरणाऽसङ्गतिरिति न वक्तव्यम् । तस्येदं तात्पर्यं तत्र हि यद्यपि आर्याः यवशब्दं दीर्घशूके प्रयुञ्जते म्लेच्छाः प्रियङ्गौ । म्लेच्छपदेनानार्याः गृह्यन्ते । तथापि आर्यप्रसिद्धेर्बलवत्वात् तेषां शिष्टत्वाच्च वेदे दीर्घशूकपरत्वैव । यतोहि—

शब्दतत्त्वविदः शिष्टाः शब्दार्थेषु व्यवस्थिताः

इति वाक्यपदीय उक्तत्वात् आर्याणां शिष्टत्वात्तप्रसिद्धेर्बलवत्त्वमिति बोध्यम् न त्वनार्यप्रसिद्धेऽर्थेऽशक्तत्वेऽसाधुत्वे वा तात्पर्यम् । अतएव सूत्रकारः "शास्त्रस्थानां तन्निमित्तत्वात् ॥ मी० सू० ॥१।३।९॥ इत्याह । यः शास्त्रस्थानां शिष्टानां स शब्दार्थः वेदे गृहीतव्यः इति च सूत्रार्थः ।

अपि च आलङ्कारिकाणां वाचकस्य व्यञ्जकत्वे—

पन्थिअ ण एत्थं सत्थरमत्थि मणं पत्थरत्थले गामे ।
उण्णअ पओहरं पेक्खिऊण जइ वससि ता वससु ॥
(पथिक नात्र संस्तरमस्ति मनाक् प्रस्तरस्थले ग्रामे ।
उन्नतपयोधरं प्रेक्ष्य पुनर्यदि वससि तदा वस ॥)

इत्युदाहरणे 'पओहर' शब्दो व्यञ्जनयोपभोगक्षमस्य बोधकः । स च स्तनस्य वाचकः । अपभ्रंशस्य वाचकत्वाभावे त्वस्य वाचकोदाहरणासङ्गतिः स्यात् ।

किञ्च विनिगमनाविरहाद् भाषायामपि शक्तिः । न च तासां नानात्वं दोषः, संस्कृतवत्सकलदेशीयभाषायाः सर्वत्रैकत्वेन प्रत्येकं विनिगमनाविरहतादवस्थ्यात् । किञ्चानुपूर्वी पदेऽवच्छेदिका । सा च पर्यायेष्विवापभ्रंशानामपि अभ्यान्यैवेति न तयोर्विशेषः । तथा च संस्कृतवत् देशजभाषायाः सर्वत्रैकत्वेन प्रत्येकं शब्दाः शक्ता एव । कोशादौ साधु शब्दानामेवाभिधानान्न तत्रैतेषां गणनापत्तिः । नहि शक्तत्वं साधुत्वमपितु "व्याकरणव्यङ्ग्योऽर्थविशिष्टशब्दनिष्ठपुण्यजनकतावच्छेदको जातिविशेषः । तदुक्तं "एकः पूर्वपरयोः" ॥६।१।८४॥ इति सूत्रभाष्ये "एकः शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके च कामधुग् भवति" । अत एव "वाचकत्वाविशेषेऽपि नियमः पुण्यपापयोः" इति ॥ वा०प० का० ३ समु० ३ का० ३० ॥

हरिकारिका सङ्गच्छते । इत्थञ्च पूर्वोक्तसाधुत्वभिन्नमेवासाधुत्वम् । न तु शक्तत्वं साधुत्वमशक्तत्वमसाधुत्वम् ।

किञ्चापभ्रंशानां वाचकत्वेऽपि नहि च्युतसंस्कृतदोषसत्ताभावः, नहि तस्य शाब्दबोधाजनकत्वं बीजमपितु साधुपदसमुदायेऽसाधुपददर्शनेन श्रोतॄणां चेतस्युद्वेगकारकत्वमेव । तल्लक्षणं तु काव्यप्रकाशकृता—

"यद्भाषासंस्कारकव्याकरणलक्षणविरुद्धं यत् तत्तद्भाषाणां च्युतसंस्कृतिः" (उल्लासः ७) इत्युक्तम् । तदुदाहरणं यथा—

"गाण्डीवी कनकशिलानिभं भुजाभ्यामाजघ्ने विषमविलोचनस्य वक्षः ॥" कि० १७-६३ ॥

अत्र स्वाङ्गकर्माभावात् 'आजघ्ने' इत्यत्र आत्मनेपदमसाधु किन्तु अन्यरीत्या समाधानेनात्र दोषो न भवतीत्यन्यत् ।

अपभ्रंशानामर्थवत्त्वे एतेषां प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा सुबुत्पत्तिश्च स्यादिति शङ्का न कर्तव्या, "साध्वनुशासनेऽत्र शास्त्रे" इति भाष्योक्तेरर्थवत्त्वेन साधूनामेव संज्ञाविधावुद्देश्यत्वमिति नासाधूनामित्येतेषामर्थवत्त्वेऽपि साधुत्वाभावात् प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा न कथमपि स्यात् । अतः "यर्वाणस्तर्वाणोनाम ऋषय बभूवु" रित्यत्र भाष्ये यर्वाणः तर्वाण इत्यादौ विभक्तिर्न कर्तव्या । अत एव "परश्च" ।।३।१।२।। इति सूत्रभाष्ये "किमस्य द्वयसमित्यसाधुः वृत्तिजसादृश्येऽप्यवृत्तिजत्वात्" इत्युक्तम् । प्रकृत्युद्देशेनैव प्रत्ययानां विधानात् केवलानामसाधुत्वं बोध्यम् । अत एव "प्रकृति पर एव प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययपरैव च प्रकृतिः" इति नियमाकारो दर्शितो भाष्ये । इति शम् ।

SHORT COMMUNICATIONS

A WRONG VIEW OF PROF. HALDANE ABOUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MĀTSYA-NYĀYA

The wellknown biologist Prof. J. B. S. Haldane says in one of his lectures[1]: "I shall have my one serious quarrel with traditional Indian thought. Your philosophers have used the phrase *mātsyanyāya,* fish-logic, *for the view that men have no duties to others, that the strong are justified in devouring the weak,* as it is claimed that fish do. I shall try to defend fish against this calumny, and to show you that some fish at least set an excellent example to human being of fidelity to their husbands and wives, and came of their children, that others have a social life and so on" (The Unity and Diversity of Life, p. 4-5). Again on page 33 it is remarked "And it is, I think, another refutation of *mātsya-nyāya,* and an argument in favour of those who object to killing and eating fish."

The remarks of Haldane seem to be unfounded. They undoubtedly are based on a wrong idea of the significance

1. Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel Memorial Lectures, delivered at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, on December 15, 16, 17, 1957 and later published as a booklet entitled 'The Unity and Diversity of Life', by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Govt. of India (1958).

of the *mātsyanyāya*. The following arguments will clearly show the fault in the views of Haldane.

Mātsyanyāya has been stated in various works,[2] namely the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the *Kāmandakanītisāra,* the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* the *Nītisūtra* of Somadeva, etc.[3] A perusal of its use in these works reveals that the *mātsyanyāya* is used to illustrate the oppression of the weak by the strong. According to the ancient teachers there are two kinds of opposition in society, namely तुल्यबलविरोध (opposition of persons possessing equal strength) and प्रबलदुर्बलविरोध (opposition of the weak by the strong). While the former is illustrated by the *Sundopasunda nyāya* (the fight between the two equally strong demons named Sunda and Upasunda, resulting their death ; *vide Mahābhārata,* Ādiparvan 208-211), the second is illustrated by the *mātsyanyāya* (अत्र बलवन्त दुर्बलान् हिंस्युरिति मात्स्यन्याय एव स्यादित्युक्तम् Kullūka on Manu 7.20). *Mātsyanyāya* comes into existence when there is either no ruler or the ruler is too weak to govern the subjects.

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2. It is a pity that the *Sanskrit Enlish Dictionary* by Sir M. Monier Williams (ed. 1970) does not contain either the word मात्स्यन्याय or the word मत्स्यन्याय, though nyāyas like छत्रिन्याय, etc., have been recorded. Mātsyanyāya means 'the maxim concerning fish'.

3. अप्रणीतो हि मात्स्यन्यायमुद्भावयति । बलीयान् अबलं हि ग्रसते दण्डधराभावे (अर्थशास्त्र 1.4) मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे (*ielid* 1.13) । परस्पराभिक्तया जगतो भिन्नवर्त्मनः । दण्डाभावे परिध्वंसी मात्स्यो न्यायः प्रवर्तते (कामन्दकीय नीतिसार 2.40) । अप्रणीतो हि दण्डः मात्स्यन्यायम् उद्भावयति (सोमदेवनीतिसूत्र 9 7). मात्स्येवाराजकं किञ्चिद् वत कोऽपि प्रजास्वहो । राजशब्दः सुरैः सृष्टो मात्स्यन्यायभयादयम् ॥ (कथासरित्सागर 102.63)

Now let us examine the remarks of Haldane. There is no doubt that the human nature of 'strong-weak-opposition' (सबल-दुर्बल-विरोध) is found not only in fish but also in some beasts, raptiles and birds. It may also be conceived that the said nature exists even in an excessive degree in creatures other than fish. Inspite of these two factors the opposition of the aforesaid kind was ascribed to fish only for the simple reason that fish were the most wellknown animal in whom the nature of opposition was easily and clearly found to exist[4] in ancient times.

It is needless to say that the nature of eating weak fish by strong fish is clearly and easily perceivable in ponds, lakes, etc., and this appears to be the strongest reason for choosing fish as the best example to illustrate the nature of the said opposition. That an illustration or example (*dṛṣṭānta*) must be wellknown in society is an accepted principle. The nature of opposition may exist in creatures other than fish, yet it does not prevent one to coin a maxim with a reference to fish.

Haldane is wrong in holding that the *mātsyanyāya* justifies the act that the strong should devour the weak. The

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4. That fist occupy a prominent place in the items of food stuff can be known by going through the relevant passages in the Dharmaśāstra works. The use of fish in the Śrāddha and other rites definitely points to its popular position. For a detailed discussion on the place of fish in the field of Hindu rites and customs, *vide* the मांसतत्त्वविवेक by Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana. The assertion that an eater of fish must be deemed as an eater of all kinds of flesh मत्स्यादः सर्वमांसादः, Manu. 5.15) indirectly shows the popularity of fish.

maxim simply shows a natural tendency. It does not justify the act of opposing. It is not a statement showing injunction or prohibition.

Haldane shows utter ignorance of the significance of the *mātsyanyāya,* when he says that the maxim has been used to show that men have no duties to others. The maxim, on the contrary, draws our attention to an undesirable instinct in human beings which should be avoided by establishing proper administration in a country. No maxim (लौकिकन्याय) is an injunction (*vidhi*); it simply shows a popular phenomenon with a view to establishing, refuting or rediculing some views, etc.

As regards the actual existence of the said nature of fish we may say that though some species of fish may not show this nature, yet there are some species which do show this nature to a considerable degree. The *Cital, Boal* and others are in the habit of devouring fish—a fact known to our fishermen. It can reasonably be accepted that the flesh-eating fish, namely, *Cital, Kai, Mangur, Singi,* etc., also eat fish. The fish known as *Kātlā* is in the habit of devouring *Chiṅgḍis.* Even the fish infants, at the time of the first opening of their mouths, eat one-cellular creatures and small *Chiṅgḍis* (a kind of fish). Fish may reasonably be regarded as possessing the nature of devouring fish, for fish is the most easily obtainable food for fish.

D. 38/8, Houz Katora,

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

Varanasi

A NOTE

on

USHA JAIN'S ARTICLE

'THE CUSTOM OF BITING GRASS IN RETROSPECT'

[Published in the *Baladeva Upadhyaya felicitation Volume JGJKSV*, 37 (1–4), 243-48]

I have read with keen interest the above article of the said volume and have to make following important observations :—

(I) It seems that Usha Jain has copied verbatim (with perhaps some changes here and there in the language) the contents of the article on 'References to the custom of holding grass in the mouth as a token of surrender in Indian and foreign sources' written by Dr. P. K. Gode, the then curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4 and particularly published in *Indian Culture*, Volume XV for July 1948—July 1949 which is regarded as *Prof. B. M. Barua felicitation volume*. Here the article of Dr. P. K. Gode covers pp. 60-65.

(II) Usha Jain seems to have deliberately dropped the name of Dr. Gode and also the sources from the Marathi language and the *Dūta-Vākya* of Bhāsa (possibly on account of her total ignorance of correctly understanding these

evidences) or has made an attempt to show that her article partakes of originality.

(III) As compared with the exhaustive article of Dr. Gode, there is no novelty in the article of Usha Jain.

(IV) Usha Jain should have written an article of this kind either to support the contentions of Dr. Gode or to controvert the same with some more reliable evidence. One also wonders why Usha Jain has observed studied silence on the article of Dr. Gode, whose material she has borrowed without any acknowledgment.

(V) If at all, any novelty is to be traced in Usha Jain's article in the matter of contents not available in Dr. Gode's article, a reference could be made to the incident of Sakiyas mentioned by her with the help of Hiuen-Tsang's account (pp. 244-245) and the custom among the Panjabis and Himachalis (p. 248). But these points are very miner.

(VI) So far as the sources other than those mentioned in V. one will find that most of the sources she has taken from Dr. Gode's article.

(VII) The writer of this note personally feels that Usha Jain's article is a good case of plagiarism and not a contribution to the subject proper and she should stop, in near future, writing the articles of this type and take proper care to disclose the sources of her article without fighting shy for the same.

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Review Article

KING ŚĀLIVĀHANA OF MEWAR AND THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF GĀTHĀ SAPTAŚATĪ

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Allahabad

A popular Hindi Version of *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* (Pr. *gāhā sattasaī*), the famous anthology of Prākṛta-lyrics ascribed to Hāla Sātāvāhana and containing the best of the ancient folk poetry in "gentle and pleasing tone"[1] with a valuable 24-page introduction by Shri Narmadeshwar Chaturvedi has been published by the Chowkhamba Vidya Bhawan of Varanasi.[2]

In the introduction the translator, Mr. Chaturvedi has done some original thinking on the problem of the date and authorship of the *Sattasaī* and arrived at some interesting conclusions. The object of this paper is to critically examine the views of Mr. Chaturvedi.

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1. A. B. Keith: *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* London 1961, p. 224.

2. Entitled *"Hindī-Gāthā-Saptaśatī",* Varanasi 1961; pp. 1-24 (Introduction), +1–168 (Text & Translation), +169–202 (Appendices).

The oldest datable reference to the work of Sātavāhana is found in the *Harṣa-Carita* of Bāṇa (ca. 620 A.D.). Bāṇa refers to his collection of songs and pithy sayings which was imperishable, unrustic and full of the jewels of purest breed of *subhāṣitas*:

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत् सातवाहनः ।
विशुद्धजातिभिःकोषं रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ॥

This Kośa of prākrit couplets (*Gāthākośa*) finds mention with Uddyotana Sūri, Abhinanda, Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra, Merutuṅga and Soḍḍhala also.[3] Jinaprabha Sūri in *Caturviṃśati-prabandha* refers to the work under the name '*Saṅgraha-gāthā-kośa*' and observes that the gāthās were caused to be collected by King Sātavāhāna under generous patronage.[4]

This leads Mr. Chaturvedi to an interesting postulate of his theory, namely: *the different identities of the two works.* He believes that *Gāthā Kośa* and *Gāṭhā Saptaśatī* are two independent works: the former was compiled (or got compiled) by King Sātavāhana and contained one crore *gāthās* on the testimony of *Saptaśatī* 1.3—

सत्त सताइं कइवच्छलेण कोडीय मज्झ ग्रारम्मि ।
हालेण विरइआइं सालङ्कारारणं गाहाणम् ॥

The name *Gāthāsaptaśatī* is met with only in the 14th century. It is mentioned by Merutuṅga (in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*). All the previous allusions to this work refer to it as *Gāthā-Kośa,* and according to Mr. Chaturvedi this

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3. *Ibid.* Introduction p. 3.

4. *J. B. B. R. A. S.,* X.135.

is the point when the false identification of *Gāthā-Kośa* with *Gāthā-saptaśatī*, and of Hāla with Śālivāhana, starts.

Judging from the testimony of Jain literature, Hāla Sātavāhana, the compiler editor of the Kośa seems to be an adherent of Jainism, whereas Śālivāhana, the compiler-editor of *Saptaśatī* was a Śaiva as is evident from the *Maṅgalācaraṇa* of the work,[5] argues Mr. Chaturvedi.[6] Another factor which shows distinction between the two is that the former (Hāla) is depicted in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literary works as a generous, religious minded, heroic and philanthropic king, a great patron of Arts and Literature whereas the latter was a sportive King fond of sensual pleasures and a lover of Prākṛta *Gāthās* for their amorous content.[7]

Examining closely the religious conditions reflected in the work we find that Buddha and Buddhism are not given a place of importance. Mr. Chaturvedi thinks that even where a reference is made to Buddha it is rather derogatory.[8] On the contrary the Hinduistic Gods like Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (1.89), Vāmana (5.25) Hara, Gaurī, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are profusely mentioned. It shows

5. पसुवइणो रोसारुणपडिमासंकन्त गोरिमुहभन्दं ।
गहि अग्घपङ्कअं विअ संझासलिलञ्जलिं णमह ॥

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Op. cit.*, p. 5-6 :

Cf. कीर मुहसच्छेहिं रेहइ वसुहा पलासकुसुमेहिं ।
बुद्धस्स चलणवन्दणा पडिएहिं व भिक्खुसंघेहिं ॥

that the *Saptaśatī* is a work of post-Gupta-age,[9] when Buddhism was relegated to background and Hinduism was vigorously revitalised.

The commentator on *Saptaśatī*, especially Pītāmbara and Bhuvanapāla, mention the names of the authors of the *gāthās* incorporated in the *Saptaśatī*. Mr. Chaturvedi goes on to collect details[10] about twenty-five of these authors and arrives at the conclusion that all these poets belong to a period between the middle of 3rd century A.D. to 10th century which shows that the *Saptaśatī* could not have existed before the 10th century A.D.

Mr. Chaturvedi now tries to find out the whereabouts of the king named Śālivāhana whom the *Saptaśatī* is traditionally ascribed and identifies the supposed compiler of the work with a king of the same name who ruled over Mewar for a short period of about five years, viz., from 972 A.D. to 977 A.D.[11] The king Śālivāhana must have been a Śivaite, as the whole dynasty of the Rāṇās of Mewar has traditionally been a worshipper of Lord Ekaliṅga, whose temple exists at a distance of about 20 kilometres from the city of Udaipur. Mr. Chaturvedi remarks that king Śālivāhana of Mewar was fond of sensual pleasures (Vilāsī) and contends that this very fact 'brought about his end'. He, thus, became very insignificant in the dynasty of Mewar,

9. *Loc. cit*' *Cf.* also Mathuranath Shastri, *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, Nirnaya Sagara, Bombay 1933 (3rd Ed.), Introduction.

10. Most of these details are borrowed from the article of Dr. V. V. Mirashi in *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Dec. 1947, p. 125-130.

11. See G. H. Ojha, *Udaipur Rājya kā Itihāsa* (in Hindi) Ajmer, V. S. 1985 (=1928 A.D.).

so much so that he did not even find mention in the Abu, Chittor, and Rāṇakpur-inscriptions.[12] This very king with the help of six other poets of his court got a collection of stray gāthās prepared for himself depicting the pleasures of love to suit his sensual bent of mind and romantic nature under the name *Gāthā-Saptaśatī*. The verses for this work were borrowed freely from the *Gāthā-Kośa* of Hāla-Sātavāhana, as well as from works of ancient and contemporary Prākṛta authors.[13]

Now arises the question whether Prākṛta language was at all in vogue in Mewar in the 10th century. Mr. Chaturvedi quotes the following verse from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja—

केऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिणः ।
काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः ।।

and interprets the word आढ्यराज as the 'King of Āhar'. Āhar is now a small township adjoining the city of Udaipur towards east. It has been the Capital of Mewar for more than 300 years till it was sacked and almost totally destroyed by the Paramāra King Muñja of Malwa (Uncle of the famous Bhoja Rāja) around 985 A.D. Bhoja, therefore, according to Mr. Chaturvedi, points out that during the reign of the ruler of Āhar, everybody in his kingdom spoke Prākṛta, which shows clearly the importance of Prākṛta during the reign of Śālivāhana.

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12. *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

13. *Cf.* also the research article of Shri Mitthan Lal Mathur, in the *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. 56, 3-4. Year 2008 Vikrami, (1951) p. 274 from which Shri Chaturvedi borrows most of his arguments.

We shall now set out to examine the arguments adduced by Mr. Chaturvedi and judge how far the propositions of Mr. Chaturvedi assigning *Gāthā Saptaśatī* to the period of 10th century A.D. and ascribing it to King Śālivāhana of Mewar are justified.

The contentions of Mr. Chaturvedi are based primarily on the assumption that *Gāthā-Kośa* and *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* are two different collections of Prākṛta couplets. His first argument that the Kośa contained one crore *gāthās* (*Saptaśatī* 1.3) whereas the present *Saptaśatī* contains only seven hundred of them, is really meaningless. To assume that at the time of Bāṇa and even later, there existed really a work containing ten million couplets or 20 million lines is certainly too naïve because that would mean that the Kośa was one hundred times more in volume than the *Mahābhārata*. The dimensions of the Kośa become quite unimaginable when one recalls to mind that the whole bulk of two great epics (*Mahābhārata* & *Rāmāyaṇa*) together with all available Purāṇas contains not more than 3.5 lac verses. In fact, it is ridiculous to take the work *Koṭi* literally as meaning 'a crore'. This exaggeration simply denotes 'numerous' or 'an overwhelming number' of verses out of which the *gāthās* of *Saptaśatī* were culled.

It is true that the present title of the work '*Gāthā-Saptaśatī*' is mentioned for the first time in the 14th century. But are there sufficient evidences to prove that our *Saptaśatī* really contained seven hundred verses even at the time of Bāṇa to warrant its mention as a *Saptaśatī*, instead of a *Kośa*? And just this does not seem to be the case. Prof. A. Weber, after collating and comparing seven different manuscripts of *Saptaśatī*, has concluded in his critical

edition[14] of the present work that only 430 *gāthās* are common to all the manuscripts[15] and only this number seems to be authentic. Had there really been 700 genuine *gāthās* from very beginning (let us say, even at the time of Śālivāhana) justifying the name *'Saptaśatī'*, nobody would have ventured to add something of his own to the original work destroying the round figure of the verses mentioned in the title itself. That as many as 270 *gāthās* could be interpolated in the work shows the fluid condition of the work quite clearly. I think that the collection of Hāla was very much like the *Subhāṣita*-anthologies. It was simply a collection from different sources of verses independent of each other and though it might have had a certain form, because of the independent nature of the verses, any lover of Prākṛit lyric could insert one or two verse of his own at proper place. We do not know in which period the work was complete with 700 verses, but it could not have been many hundred years earlier than Merutuṅga who mentioned it in the 14th century as a *Saptaśatī*. It is even probable that the number 700 of the verses of the *Bhagavadgītā*, of *Durgā-Saptaśatī* and perhaps even the *Āryā-Saptaśatī* of Govardhana (12th C.) might have given impetus to the editors to round up or off the number of verses to 700. If this be true, it becomes readily intelligible why the scholars upto ca. 10th century A.D. should mention this work as merely 'Gāthā Collection' (*Gāthā Kośa*) and not as the *'Saptaśatī'* of *Gāthās*.

That Hāla, the compiler of the Kośa, has been depicted in *Jaina Literature* as a follower of Jainism is no concrete

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14. A. Weber : *Das Saptacatakam des Hāla* (Indische Studien XVI) Berlin 1881.

15. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. XXVIII.

proof for the religious affiliations of Hāla. What else could we expect in a literature written explicitely for the Jainas and for the propagation of Jainism? Hindu Kings are delineated as perfect Jainas in Jinistic literature and as perfect Buddhists in Buddhistic literature. It is difficult to imagine that Aśoka and Harṣavardhana were really such staunch Buddhists as they are depicted in Buddhistic literature. The story of *Rāmāyaṇa* has provided material for the story of a previous birth of Buddha—the *Daśaratha Jātaka*. No credit can therefore be given to the references of Jain Literature alone unless the facts are corroborated by other sources also which is here not the case. The present *Saptaśatī* begins and ends with an obeiscene to Śiva.[16]

What ground is there, one may ask, to assert, as Mr. Chaturvedi does, that these verses have been incorporated in the *Saptaśatī* during the reign of Śālivāhana, the Śaiva ruler of Mewar? Even if we may concede for a moment that the *Saptaśatī* was compiled at a later date mainly out of the verses of *Gāthā-Kośa*, there exists at least equal possibility of their being from the pen of Hāla. This argument, therefore, could hardly be brought forward the bear upon the distinctness of the compilers of the *Kośa* and the *Saptaśatī*.

It is true that the religious spirit of *Saptaśatī* is predominently Hinduistic, though the verse regarding the obeiscence paid to Buddha which Mr. Chaturvedi quotes (4/8) is by no means derogatory; I fail to see any sense of

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16. पसुवइणो रोसारुणपडिमा-संकन्त गोरिमुहअन्दं ।
गहि अग्घपंकअं विअ संझासलिलञ्जलिं णमह ।।

संझागहियजलञ्जलिपडिमासंकन्तगोरिमुहकमलं ।
अलिअं विअ फुरिओट्ठं विअलिअमन्तं हरं णमह ।।

derogation in the line, "the forest full of (Ochre Coloured) palāśa-flowers looks like a group of monks (wearing safron robes) bowing before Buddha". On the contrary, this verse would prove that the author of this verse had actually seen large crowds of Buddhist monks without which he could not have been able to conceive this simile which would rather speak for the wide prevalence of Buddhism at the time of the composition of verse. The mention or depiction of Hindu gods and goddesses like Vāmana Nārāyana, Lakṣmī and Rādhā shows only that the work *Saptaśatī* had not taken its final shape before Gupta age. Additions must have been made in the original collection of *gāthās* to a considerable extent in all the ages.[17] The Hinduistic verses, therefore, need not necessarily belong to the original kernal of the *Saptaśatī*.

As far as the names of the authors of the different couplets of *Saptaśatī* are concerned, the general consensus of scholars is not in favour of attaching any undue importance to them. "The ascription of verses in the Commentaries varies greatly and is probably worthless", observes Keith.[18] In fact, the commentators Pītāmbara and Bhuvanpāla differ so much from each other in ascribing the verses to their supposed authors that it is difficult to believe that their ascriptions are based on any older authentic tradition. Only thirteen names are, for example, common in the lists of the commentator in the first Śataka.[19] Fourteen pairs of the

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17. Cf. A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 224.

18. *Op. cit.*, p. 233. Footnote 5, cf. also Winternitz : *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, III.97.

19. *Gāthā Saptaśatī*, Appendix *Kha*, p. 179.

names seem to be variants of one and the same word—corrupt or misspelt, e. g., *Kalirāja* (P)—*Kaliṅga* (B), *Harijana* (P)—*Harirāja* (B), *Bhojika* (P)—*Bhoja* (B), *Svargavarmā* (P)—*Gajavarmā* (B), *Surabhavatsala* (P)—*Surabhavakṣa* (B), *Vinayāyita* (P)—*Virayādita* (B) and *Bhramara* (P)—*Camara* (B).[20] Even if we admit the identity of these names, they make out together with the common names only 23% of the total. In the later Śatakas the commonness is still less. Further, Pītāmbara is unable to quote any names for most of the verses in second, third, fourth and seventh Śatakas and for a large number of verses in Śataka 6th. It is thus clear that no authentic tradition was inherited by the commentators and even the forms of the names which they mention are often very doubtful. It is, therefore, unsound and unscientific to try to locate these socalled 'authors' which for the most part consist of uncertain and unknown names in the history of literature and to determine their period of activity.

Not much is known about King Śālivāhana of Mewar with whom Mr. Chaturvedi wants to identify the compiler of the *Saptaśatī*. His name is mentioned only in two of the five incriptions (*Āṭapur* 977 A.D., Chittor 1274 A.D., Abu 1285 A.D., Rāṇankpur 1439 A.D., Kumbhalgarh 1460 A.D.) significant for the reconstruction of the geneology of the Mewar dynasty, viz., in Āṭpur and Kumbhalgarh.[21] He is a son of King Naravāhana, famous for his patronage to the Nātha-Yogins of Lakulīśa sect, a temple of which (Lakulīśa) he constructed by the side of the Ekaliṅgajī in 971 A.D. The name of his son is quoted in an

20. *Loc. cit.*

21. G. S. Ojha, *Udayapura Rājya kā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, p. 94.

inscription recovered in Ahar by Col. Tod as Śaktikumāra The inscription is dated. It was inscribed in Āṭpur on the 1st day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha VS 1034 (A.D. 977) and was perhaps instituted by Śaktikumāra himself. The stone slab bearing the inscription had unfortunately gone underground already at the time of Mr. G. S. Ojha, who presumed that the inscription could have been taken to England by Col. Tod. However, he found a copy of this valuable inscription in the collection of Yatī Jñānacandra, the Guru of Col. Tod and got it published in the 39th Vol. of *Indian Antiquary* through Shri D. R. Bhandarkar.[22] This inscription eulogises mainly Śaktikumāra. in whose reign it was written, and describes him as endowed with all the three Śaktis of a king, viz., *prabhu, mantra* and *utsāha*. His capital Āṭpur (=Aghāṭpur, present Ahar) has been depicted as a rich and prosperous town full of merchants, etc. Strangely, only the following casual remark is passed for the father of the present ruler whereas much more space is devoted to the description of the grandfather Naravāhana—

राजाऽजायत शालिवाहन इति ख्यातप्रतापस्ततः ।

The Kumbhalgarh inscription (1460 A.D.) which was composed under the directions of Mahārāṇā Kumbha-

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22. For details, see D. R. Bhandarkar, 'The Āṭpur Inscription' in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 39, p. 191.

23. See Ojha, *Op. cit.*, p. 131, Footnote 1.

karṇa himself, mentions the names of his forefathers in the following order[24]—

तस्मिन् गुहिलवंशेऽभूद् भोजनामावनीश्वरः ।
तस्मान् महीन्द्रनागाह्वो बप्पाख्यश्चापराजितः ॥ 139 ॥
महीन्द्रभट्टसंपालात् कालभोजस्ततोऽजनि ।
खुम्माणो मत्तटश्चासीद् भर्तृप [भ] ट्टोऽथ प [अ] ल्लटः ॥ 140 ॥
नरवाहनसंज्ञश्च शालिवाहनभूपतिः ।
जज्ञे शक्तिकुमाराख्यस्तस्मादम्बाप्रसादतः ॥ 141 ॥

King Śālivāhana is thus merely a name to us; nothing is known about him. He did not perhaps leave any record of his deeds nor does he seem to have performed any deeds which required commemoration by the posterity. He ruled for an extremely short period. Since his father and his son have left dated inscriptions of A.D. 971 and 977 respectively, it is presumed that he ruled for the period in-between. But since his father must not necessarily have died immediately after donating the Lakulīśa Temple (where the inscription in question is placed) to the Nātha Yogīs and since there is no evidence to show that Śaktikumāra issued the said inscription in the very first year of his reign, the period assigned to the rule of Śālivāhana would still have to be shortened. It is thus obvious, that Śālivāhana died a premature death and the five years or even less that he got, were too little a time to perform anything rememberable. This is perhaps the reason why he

24. These lines are, in fact, a part of a long *praśasti* (known after the place in which it was found) which was inscribed on five big stone slabs. Four of these slabs are preserved in the Rāṇā Pratāpa Museum, City Palace, Udaipur. The above quoted part occurs on the third slab.

was passed over unnoticed in other three inscriptions (Abu, Chittor and Rāṇakpur) describing the line of ancient rulers of Mewar.

Mr. Chaturvedi's assumption that King Śālivāhana died of excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures, for which he points towards the 'amorous nature' of the verses of *Saptaśatī* as a proof, need hardly any discussion. Apart from the fact that it is not medically proved that a person must die (within five years) through excessive indulgence in sensual pleasures, I strongly oppose the idea of *Saptaśatī* being dubbed as 'Śṛṅgāric poetry'. Anybody who has read *Saptaśatī* with a free and unbiased mind would have noticed that it contains, *inter alia,* extremely beautiful descriptions of nature based on careful and keen observation, vivid pictures of the daily life of the folk and a fine delineation of the feelings and sufferings of the poor, especially the peasents and the labourers, besides ennobling and magnificient didactic and religious poetry. I quote just two verses to elucidate my point and refer the readers to go through the entire 2nd Śataka which will prove the point :

तं नमह जस्स वच्छे लच्छिमुहं कोत्थहम्मि संकन्तं ।

दीसइ मम्रपरिहीणं ससिबिम्बं सूरि बिम्बव्व ॥ 25 ॥

"Bow to Him, on whose chest the face of Lakṣmī reflected in the Kaustubha-Jewel looks like the spotless moon entered into the solar disc."

उग्र पोम्मराग्रमरगग्रसंवलिया णह पलाम्रो म्रोअरइ ।

णहसिरिकण्ठब्भट्ठ व्व कण्ठिया कीररिञ्छोली ॥1.75॥

"Behold, the flock of parrots (having red beaks and green feathers) flying through the air look like the necklace made

of Rubies and Emeralds fallen from the throat of the Goddess of Sky (*Nabhaḥ-Śrīḥ*=Beauty of the Sky, conceived as a lady)."

The following couplet is a beautiful illustration of didactic poetry and could well have found a place in some work on Nītiśāstra :

तुङ्गोच्चिअ होइ मणो मणसिणो अन्तिमासु वि दसासु ।

अत्थमणम्मि वि रइणो किरणा उद्धं च्चिअ फुरन्ति ॥

"The morale of a self respecting person remains high even if he is passing through a stage of extreme calamity. Even when the sun is going down, its rays beam up towards heaven."

It will, therefore, be nothing but a travesty of truth to allege that the *Saptaśatī* is a Kāvya of love and amorous persuits. It is only a tribute to its high literary merit that the Dhvanikāra has quoted some 35 of its verses in his *Dhvanyāloka,* which have again and again been explained and interpreted even by later Rhetoricians.

To assume that Prākṛta was the common language of Mewar during the time of Śālivāhana is to show utter ignorance of the historical development of Aryan languages. Prākṛta might have continued as a medium of literary expression till 10th century or even later, but it was learnt and written in much the same way as Sanskrit is learnt and written in 20th century. It had ceased latest by 600' A.D. to be the common language of the masses. Had everyone in the Kingdom of Śālivāhana spoken Prākṛta, as is contended (cf. above, केऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिणः, a quote from सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम्) his son Śaktikumāra (970' A.D. onwards) and his father Naravāhana would not have issued

their royal inscriptions in Sanskrit but in Prākṛta. Not a single royal inscription of Mewar has been composed in Prākṛta. All of them have invariably been composed in Sanskrit till before a few hundred years.

And further, to explain the word *Āḍhyarāja* as 'King of Āhar' is philologically unsound. By no stretch of imagination could the word *Āḍhya* be shown to have been changed into *Āṭ* (*pura*), the word appearing on the stone inscription of Śaktikumāra and showing the form which was in use in the 10th century. The only Sanskrit form of this word could be *Āghaṭṭa* or *Aghāṭa*, which first changed into Āhaṭ/Āhāṭ and then by contraction to *Āaṭ>Āṭ*. *Āhaḍa*, the later variant of the name of the city also goes back to Sanskrit *Āghāṭa*. In fact, the expression *Āḍhyarāja* has been first used by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* in the following śloka—

आढ्यराजकृतोत्साहैः हृदयस्थैः स्मृतैरपि ।
जिह्वाऽन्तःकृष्यमाणेव न कवित्वे प्रवर्तते ॥

And he has used this attribute for his patron king Harṣavardhana, as is conclusively proved by Pischel.[25] There is no reason to believe that Bhoja has used this literary expression in some other sense than the one which Bāṇa understood and used it.

In fact an investigation of the use of Prākṛta in royal courts and for administrative purposes shall show that contrary to Sanskrit, Prākṛta was used only in a period when it was a common language of the masses and the people more or less understood it. To be more exact, Prākṛta is

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25. *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil. Hist. Klasse; 1901, 485-7.

the language of inscriptions only from Ashoka to Kuṣāṇa period, let us say, roughly from 300 B.C. to 200 A.D.[26] All important Prākṛta inscriptions, including those of the Sātavāhanas (Nānāghāṭ and Nāsik) and Khārvela (Hāthīgumphā in the hills of Udaigiri near Bhubaneswar, Orissa) fall into this period. This is, therefore, the period when we should look for the literary development and expansion of Prākṛta dialects. Though Prākṛta continued to be a literary tongue even later, especially in Sanskrit dramas, yet its impact on public had gone.

We cannot, therefore, be wrong if we assign the refind and chaste literary Prākṛta of *Gāthā Saptaśatī* to a period around two or three hundred years after the beginning of Christian era. I do not mean that all the couplets must have been composed during this period, yet the major portion undoubtedly belongs to this period.

Even a casual reader of the *Saptaśatī* would mark that the places mentioned in the work as well as its flora and fauna do not belong to Mewar but to South India. Whenever a river is mentioned it is almost invariably Godāvarī (Cf. 2/7, 2/75, 2/93, 3/31 etc.) and Tāptī (3/39, 2/21). The Vindhya mountains, the Sahyādri and the hunters of aboriginal tribes living there (e. g., 2/21 and 2/73) are mentioned again and again. Though Gaṅgā and Yamunā are also mentioned once, as well as Himālayas, yet absolutely no river, no valley, no forest and no mountain of Mewar or, for that purpose, of Rajasthan find mention in the *Saptaśatī*.

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26. Cf. Vasudeva Upadhyaya, *Bhāratīya Abhilekhon kā Adhyayana*, Delhi 1961, II part, p. 29-3

The tribe of Āndhras is mentioned in *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.* Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis* VI.19 (22) mentions that during the Maurya age this tribe formed an independent kingdom with 30 fortified towns, 1 lac infanty 2,000 horsemen and 1,000 elephants. The royal dynasty was founded by the powerful Andhra king *Simuka* bearing the epithet *Sātavāhana* (or Śātakarṇi), a word certainly denoting the name of the sub-tribe to which he belonged. This sub-tribe is mentioned in *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* (58.46) as *Sātaka* or *Śātaka* and as *Satal* by Pliny.[27] This king has left us two famous inscriptions, those of Nānāghāṭ and Nāsik respectively. Hemacandra, in his *Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa* (2/1/211) teaches that the *ta* of the word *Sātavāhana* (as well as of *atasī*) is changed into *la* in Prākṛta :[28] *Sātavāhana* thus become *Sālavāhana* which is Sanskritised as Śālavāhana and later, as Śālivāhana through folk-etymology.

The word Śālivāhana is found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which is an abridged version of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya written in Paisācī Prākṛta around the beginning of Christian era probably under some Sātavāhana King. The Purāṇas also refer to the kings of this dynasty sometimes as *Sātavāhana* and sometimes as Śālivāhana. The Śaka era is often associated with Sātakarṇi Sātavāhana and is designated as 'Śālivāhana Saṃvat'. *Sātavāhana* and *Śālivāhana* are thus two variants of one and the same word. It does not seem justified to assert that Sātavāhana is the title or

27. *Cambridge History of India,* p. 542, 543. Cf. also *Ep. India* x. App. 1021.

28. अतसी सातवाहने लः II. 1.211.

attribute of an Āndhra king, and Śālivāhana is an entirely different word denoting the name of a ruler of Mewar in 10th century. In fact, the ruler of Mewar was probably given this name after this word had already been in use for quite some time as a Sanskritised attribute of many an Āndhra king. The literary tradition ascribing the work *Gāthā-Saptaśatī* to Hāla Sātavāhana or (Hāla) Śālivāhana, therefore, does not contradict itself since both of these attributes belonging to two different languages (namely Prākṛta and Sanskrit respectively) refer to one and the same person. There is no reason to believe that the original kernal of *Saptaśatī* does not belong to the centuries just following the Christian era. The *Gāthā-Saptaśatī,* its collection or compilation etc., has therefore, nothing to do with the homonym ruler of Mewar—who had Śālivāhana as his *proper* name.

This king who ruled at the most for five years (971–976 A.D.) in Mewar, does not seem to have encouraged any literary activity in Mewar nor does it seem plausible that he got compiled *Gāthā-Saptaśatī,* which must have come into being some 800 years before his birth.*

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* The present paper was originally read in a Seminar on the history of Mewar conducted by the History Dept. of the Udaipur University in March 1970.

REVIEWS

SAHITYASUDHASINDHU of Ācārya Viśvanāthadeva. Critically edited, with Hindi translation and exposition, by Dr. Ram Pratap. Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi; 1978. Pp. 58+564. Rs. 60.00.

The volume under review is a critical edition of *Sāhityasudhā-sindhu,* a notable work on Sanskrit poetics written by Viśvanātha-deva in A.D. 1592. This writer, originally belonging to a place named Dhārāsuranagara on the bank of Godāvarī, was a resident of Varanasi. His work, in eight chapters, deals with the main topics of the poetical theory and presents before us a complete scheme of Sanskrit poetics, following the line of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mam-*maṭa* in its approach to the problem of the essence of poetry. Though important on account of its systematic and comprehensive treatment of the subject-matter and its lucid style, the text remained unpublished so far.

It is gratifying to note that it has now been critically edited and annotated and has appeared in print. The editing has been done by Dr. Ram Pratap of the Jammu University Sanskrit Department, on the basis of three manuscripts one each from Jammu, Alwar in Rajasthan and Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh. The editor has also provided it with lucid Hindi translation and detailed exposition which have immensely added to the value and usefulness of the edition for scholars and students. He has also provided it with a learned preface in Hindi which introduces us to the writer with a reference to his time and his writings, his indebtedness to the theorists from Bharata and Bhāmaha to Viśvanātha and some striking points of affinity his work bears with that of Jagannātha, his younger contemporary. The editor has also described in it his

critical apparatus—the three manuscripts, and has assessed their relative value and importance, besides giving a résumé of the contents of the text with his own critical observations on them. The edition also contains the editor's note in English, an illuminating foreword by Dr. Ved Kumari and an erudite introduction by Dr. Rewa Prasad Dwivedi, besides two facsimile photo-plates of the paper manuscript of the work preserved in Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Jammu. The edition has also been provided with an index of *kārikās* and illustrative verses and of the writers and works quoted in the text, though unfortunately this part of the work is deficient in many respects, done as it is in a very casual and slovenly manner.

This critical and annotated edition of the work would create due interest, it is hoped, in the text, a study of which is essential for a proper understanding and appreciation of the last phase of the development of literary theory in Sanskrit in the late 16th and the early 17th centuries A.D. The learned editor of the volume has earned the gratitude of all Sanskrit scholars and students interested, in particular, in studies in literary criticism, by making this important text available in print and providing it with a lucid exposition in Hindi.

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THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF YOGA By Dr. H. L. Sharma. GDK Publications, Delhi-110006 ; 1981, Pp. x+160. Rs. 45.00.

Freud (1856–1939) is the founder of the basic concepts of the psychodynamics which attempted to evolve the principles to explain the complex human behaviour. But he was deeply influenced both

by Kant (1724–1804), the philosopher, and Darwin (1809–1882), the naturalist. His dual loyalty resulted in his vivid description of the concept of the unconscious to the utter neglect of the conscious which only can explain the pulsations of the intelligent life. We require, therefore, a new concept of psychodynamics which deals with the interplay of the two energies, the conscious or rather the superconscious and the unconscious. The author of the present work, Dr. H. L. Sharma, who is a seasoned scholar of the Yoga psychology and author of such distinguished books as the *Yoga Technique of Psychotherapy, Wisdom of Vedānta, A Critical and Comparative Study of Indian Aesthetics,* and *Mind Your Mental Health,* identifies these two energies as Puruṣa and Prakṛti respectively of the Indian philosophical tradition. He calls this new concept by the name of the Yoga psychodynamics, which believes in the fundamental polarity of the Puruṣa and the Prakṛti. This concept of the complementary position of these two energies is the basic postulate of the Yoga which puts forth a full-fledged psychodynamics for the study of human behaviour competent enough to meet the challenge of the psychoanalysis of Freud. There is, in the Yoga system, no denial of the unconscious which it accepts as a force of *saṃskāras* of the past, that is, *what man had been.* However, man's spirituality consists not in *what he had been* but in *what he can be.* Herein lies his joy and his freedom and creativity. And the source for this is the superconscious, the inmost core of the human self.

Dr. Sharma makes a laudable attempt, in his book under review, to outline the psychodynamics of Yoga and to define, as precisely as possible, the concepts of peace, the superconscious, freedom, joy, creativity, bondage and liberation on the basis of our traditional system of Yoga with a particular reference to the Indian psychology which, according to him, is capable of giving deep insights into human nature.

The work, in five chapters, gives a thorough treatment to the subject in hand. It discusses (i) the challenge of the unconscious; (ii) the superconscious; (iii) *turīya*: the fourth dimension; (iv) freedom, joy and creativity; and (v) *yoga* with reference to the *rāja-yoga* (*yoga* for all), *karma-yoga, jñāna-yoga* and *bhakti-yoga.* The work also contains some useful appendices on the classical Haṭha-yoga (on the basis of the *Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*), Yoga traditions in India, Yoga and the laboratory, Yoga and the reduction process, and Yoga and para-psychology. At the end, there is an index of authors and important technical terms used in the book. What this otherwise useful work lacks is the bibliography. Again, it would have been better if the author had provided the Sanskrit words and terms so extensively used in the book with proper diacritical marks so as to enable the reader to decipher the terms in their accurate form and thereby to grasp their correct significance.

Notwithstanding the above drawbacks, it must be said to the credit of the book that it adds to our understanding of Yoga in the perspective of modern concepts of psychology and eminently heralds a synthetic approach to the oriental and the occidental thinking on the subject. The book has been nicely got-up and reasonably priced. It is hoped that the book would be warmly received by the students both of the eastern Yoga and the western psychology and would also be used by the scholars interested in the study of psychotherapy and psychoaesthetics.

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COMPARATIVE RELIGION By Dr. Kedar Nath Tiwari. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi-110007; 1983. Pp. xii+225. Rs. 60.00 (Cloth); Rs. 28.00 (Paper).

Comparative religion or, precisely speaking, a comparative study of religions is a scientific study of the various features of the different religions of the world in a comparative perspective. This subject as a distinct branch of knowledge is relatively a late development; it is hardly for a hundred years or so that this subject has received the attention it so eminently deserved and studies in this direction have been taken up in right earnest. A comparative study of the various religions espoused by different peoples of the world with a critical assessment of their main ingredients is, for evident reasons, a delicate and a difficult task, for there is always the danger of nourishing preferences for one's own religion and prejudices against the other faiths. A scientific study of different religions must necessarily be a detached and objective study, but at the same time an investigator must do his job with a sense of involvement, not into any particular religion but, into the spirit of religion in general, which, in other words, may be called a kind of religious sensitivity. Again, the study must be to some extent evaluative and critical. In order to achieve success in this difficult mission one has to temper his genuine critical acumen with one's real sense of sympathy and large-heartedness for other religions. Such a person must have a balanced mind, unbiased and unprejudiced and be trained in scientific neutrality and yet remain sensitive to the deeper convictional aspects of religion.

The book under review attempts a study of the salient features of the major living religions of the world and also compares and evaluates them. Its author, Dr. Kedar Nath Tiwari, who is a fine scholar of religion and philosophy and at present is heading the Department of Philosophy at the Bhagalpur University, has accomplished his difficult task with admirable success. He has done his job with a singularly detached mind with reference to any one of the religions he has taken up for study and at the same time with a deep religious sensitivity which has made his work a really refresh-

ing and a rewarding study of the subject. Though primarily meant for the use of the Indian students of philosophy and religion at their post-graduate level, the book contains much useful and interesting material for the general reader as well. Unlike most of the available books on the subject which deal more with the history of the origin and development of different religions, the present work takes upon itself to discuss the basic principles, beliefs and practices that these faiths inculcate and emphasise. The religions taken up in this book for a critical analysis of their beliefs and practices are Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Sikkhism, which have been described with reference to their basic features, their standpoint with regard to God, world, man, evil and suffering, life after death and ultimate human destiny and their religious discipline or rituals and ethics and their principal sects. Taking up the aforesaid specific topics relating to these eight major religions of the world, the book proceeds in its analytical study and critical appraisal of these faiths. This approach, which makes the study topical rather than historical, forms the special feature of this book. The author has added a separate chapter on comparing religions, again, with reference to these specific topics, and this has contributed to his book's being a comparative study. He has also attempted at the end an assessment of the possibility of a universal religion, which is much talked of in the present times by the religionists and the philosophers of the world. His own considered opinion on this vexed issue is that there is no possibility of, nor a real need for, such a universal religion and that if at all such a religion comes about "it is bound to be bound to be nothing other than one more religion besides many existing from beforehand". As he rightly observes, "no propounder or prophet of a fresh religion has ever wished his religion to be the religion of a selected group; he has rather wished it to be a religion of all the people of the world. But it is an irony of fate that everytime when

an attempt has been made by a prophet to give man a new religion of universal acceptance, it has resulted merely in giving rise to one more religion besides those that already existed" (cf. p. 224) Instead of this kind of wild goose hunting in the form of toying with the idea of forming a universally acceptable religion, we shodld strive, as the author suggests, for a meaningful co-existence of the religions with a sense of tolerance and sympathy for the religions other than our own. When every man has the right to differ from others on various points relating to life, why this right be denied to him in the sphere of religion? There is no need, therefore, for evolving any universal religion. What is really, and badly, needed to day is the spirit of tolerance—a heart large enough to accommodate the ideas and sentiments of others. If this spirit is absent, there is no religiousness at all, for one cannot be both intolerant and religious at the same time (cf. p. 225).

The book is written in a very lucid style and contains enough material for inspiring students and scholars for further research in the field and also for acquainting the general reader with the salient features of the major religions of the world. The book has been carefully planned and finely executed. Again, it has been neatly printed and elegantly got-up with a very few printing errors The only drawback it suffers from is the absence of a classified bibliography and a general index, which, if they had been suffixed to the volume, would certainly have added to the importance and value of this otherwise very useful book both for students and scholars and also for the general readers.

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FUNDAMENTALS OF HINDUISM By Prof. P. L. Bhargava Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi; 1982. Pp. viii + 104. Rs. 35.00.

Hinduism, as rightly observed by the author of the present book, is "the most misunderstood of all religions". While it is taken by many people as a conglomeration of diverse beliefs and practices or a federation of faiths, it is considered by others to be a way of life and not a religious system at all. The author, however, has maintained that true Hinduism is as well defined a religion as any other in the world. He has shown in his book under review that Hinduism is not a founded religion like Christianity or Islam. Instead, it developed in the course of several centuries before assuming its final form. During its long history not only numerous individuals but also tribes and races embraced this religion or were imperceptibly merged into it. This fact had both advantages and disadvantages for this religion. While on one hand it resulted into its numerical growth in course of time, on the other hand it tended to corrupt the true form of the religion by incorporating elements which may be called today undesirable or unhealthy. In the absence of an organised priesthood in Hinduism, all the beliefs and practices of the people who entered the Hindu fold became a part and parcel of the popular Hinduism, which must be distinguished from the true or the classical Hinduism based on its ancient scriptures. According to Dr. Bhargava, if we set aside the Purāṇic mythology, the Tantric cults and many of the popular beliefs and practices having no sanction in the ancient scriptures, we can have a glimpse into true Hinduism as a well-defined religious system, having its own great luminaries corresponding to the prophets of other religions, its own theology and the mode of worship, its own cosmology, its own ethical code and way of life, its own holy places and its own rituals and festivals.

Dr. Bhargava has given a rational analysis of all these important aspects of Hinduism in different chapters of his well planned book. An eminent scholar of Sanskrit and a historian of repute the author has taught religion in McMaster University, Hamilton. in Canada. He has brought his mature scholarship and profound learning in the field to bear upon his work which as a result has become an authentic treatise on the fundamentals of Hinduism in its classical form. One may or may not agree with him on the measures he has suggested for the revival of true Hinduism or even on the need to revive it, but one is deeply impressed by the sincerity and fervour with which he makes a plea, on behalf of all enlightened and devout Hindus, for the restoration of Hinduism to its true form. For determining which of the features of Hinduism are of natural growth and in accord with its true scriptures and which are not, the author has used the historical and critical method, and has portrayed Hinduism as a well-defined religious system. He has not included in his book an account of various sects and cults which according to him, are in some measure deviations from its basic tenets or are regional in nature and scope.

This treatise forms a notable addition to our knowledge of Hinduism in its true form and to our clear understanding and correct appreciation of its basic tenets and beliefs, its mode of worship and its ethical code. The learned author has eminently earned the gratitude of the students of religion in general and those of Hinduism in particular by having brought out this fine monograph, nearly printed and nicely got-up.

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RATI-MANMATHA-NĀṬAKA of Jagannātha Paṇḍita. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Dr. Jagannath Pathak. Allahabad : Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, 1983. Pp. 8+16+144.

The medieval period in India, though mainly responsible for growth of literature in regional languages, witnessed the production of some excellent pieces of literary composition in various genres in Sanskrit. Many of these works, being still in manuscript form, are yet to draw the attention of the general readers and the critics. One such work is *Rati-manmatha-nāṭaka,* a play in five acts. by Jagannātha Paṇḍita, a court-poet of the king Śarabhojī (A.D. 1711–1729) of Tanjore and evidently different from Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha (c. A.D. 1625–1675) of the *Rasagaṅgādhara* fame. This Jagannātha Paṇḍita wrote two poems (*Śarabharāja-vilāsa* and *Bhāskara-vilāsa*), two plays (*Vasumatī-pariṇaya* and *Rati-manmatha*) and a work on *tantraśāstra, Nityotsava* by name. The play *Rati-manmatha* of this writer, though once published in 1889-90 from Bombay, was hardly noticed by scholars, and this old edition is practically non-existent today. The play is unique in the conception of plot and its execution in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The old mythical story of Rati and Manmatha (or Kāma), found in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Chap. 27) and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (X.55), has been worked out in this play with suitable innovations and changes of great dramatic effect. The weaving out of the theme around the characters, Rati and Manmatha and of Rāga and Muditā, the former's parents, has tended to place the play in the category of allegorical dramas.

The play exhibits its author's subscription to the Advaita philosophy of Ācārya Śaṅkara and his devotion to the goddess Parāmbā or Śrī-devī who has been introduced into the play as an important character playing significant roles in key situations.

Dr. Pathak has edited the text of the play on the basis of three manuscripts, one in Devanāgarī script acquired by the Vidyapeeth

in 1979-80 under its scheme for collection and preservation of Sanskrit manuscripts, and serving as the basic manuscript for the critical editing, another in Grantha script preserved in Sarasvati Mahal Library of Tanjore (or Thanjavur), the city in which the play was composed, and still another in Devanāgarī script in incomplete form procured from the University of Bombay, detailed by the editor in his learned *nivedana* which has also given a brief account of the playwright and his works and the plot of the play edited. The volume contains at the end an incomplete *Parāmbā-stotra* found appended to the Bombay University manuscript of the play, and critical notes on some words and passages, and also an alphabetical index of the verses occurring in the play.

The volume is carefully edited, neatly printed and finely got-up. It is hoped that this critical edition would enable the play to draw the attention of the *sahṛdaya* critics and to acquire the place it eminently deserves as an excellent piece of dramatic art in Sanskrit. Dr. G. C. Tripathi, the General Editor of the Text Series of the Vidyapeeth, and Dr. Jagannath Pathak, the editor, have richly earned the gratitude of all scholars and students of Sanskrit literature by bringing to light this important piece of dramatic composition in Sanskrit, written in South India and belonging to late medieval period.

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HARA-VIJAYA of Rājānaka Ratnākara. Edited, in two volumes, by Dr. Goparaju Rama. Allahabad: G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Vol. I, 1982, Pp. 26+450+4; Vol. II, 1983, Pp. 12+310 (451–760)+64.

The *Hara-vijaya* of Rājānaka Ratnākara, a Kashmirian writer of 9th century A.D., is a stupendous epic poem (*mahākāvya*), containing 4345 (+7 autobiographical) verses in fifty cantos. The poem, the largest in volume in poetic literature in Sanskrit, depicts the story of Hara's (or Śiva's) victory over the demon king Andhaka who, born blind of Śiva himself, regained sight by his austerities and became a menace to the gods. This slender narrative, related in the *Śiva-purāṇa* and the *Matsya-purāṇa*, has been stretched out to an unconceivable length by the poet who has filled its voluminous body with long digressions in the form of descriptive matter consisting of depiction of water-sport, sunset, moonrise, drinking bouts and merriment, love-play and mountains and rivers and the like. His pedantic interests are best exhibited in his display of knowledge of polity in eight cantos (9-16) and of erotics in another eleven cantos (17-20 ; 22-28) and his employment of tricks of the *citra-bandha* (43). His poetry, as observed by Dr. S. K. De (*cf.* his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Calcutta, 1947, p. 319), forms a typical example of decadent *mahākāvyas* in Sanskrit, which confuse pedantry with poetry. It is significant, therefore, that his work was allowed to languish through the centuries in near oblivion. Notwithstanding the above fact, a study of this *mahākāvya*, as that of some other epic poems of this age, is essential to identify the literary trends and tendencies of that peculiar age, and it is in this context, if not in another, that the publication of this poem is a welcome event in the annals of contemporary Sanskrit studies. This epic poem is important on other count also. At the religio-philosophical level, it seeks, after the age it represents, to establish, as its editor has aptly pointed out (*cf.* Vol. II, *intro.* p. 7), the identity of the gods Hara and Hari who take equal part in the destruction of the demon Andhaka symbolising ignorance and pride that baffle the mind of humanity of all times and climes.

The poem was first published in 1890 (with Alaka's commentary on it, NSP, Bombay; recently reprinted, New Delhi, 1982), but its text was based in the main on a single manuscript procured from Lahore. It is gratifying to note that the text has now been critically edited on the basis of four manuscripts in Devanāgarī script, three procured from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and one from the Rajasthan Prachya Vidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur. Two other manuscripts enumerated by the editor could hardly be useful in editing the text on account of their being incomplete. These manuscripts, including the two incomplete ones, appear to be based on one single archetype, though not of a very early date, one of them being dated V. S. 1930 (i. e., A.D. 1873).

The work, in two volumes, has been edited as a part of the Text Series of the Vidyapeeth (under the auspices of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi) under the General Editorship of Dr. G. C. Tripathi, Principal of the Vidyapeeth at Allahabad, who has contributed a learned *foreword* to the work. Dr. Goparaju Rama, the editor, has set out in his *introduction* to the work, in brief, the critical apparatus used in editing the text and has also outlined the general contents of the work edited, with a general reference to its author and his other writings. Dr. G. Rama has strived hard to make the work as critical and flawless as possible, and he deserves thanks for the devoted and sustained efforts he has put in this behalf. The volumes are neatly printed and nicely got-up. The second volume contains at the end an index of the verses of the poem, which adds to the usefulness of the work for the purposes of research and reference. It is hoped that this edition, based on fresh manuscript material, would supersede in merits the earlier one now reprinted through offset process, and would give a new impetus to the study of this *mahākāvya* which must be regarded as unique in Sanskrit literature in aspects more than one, even if

we may have reservations in the matter of claiming for it a very high place amongst the Sanskrit classics.

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THE KĀVYAPRAKĀŚADARPAṆA of Viśvanātha, Ed. Dr. Goparaju Rama, Allahabad; Manju Prakashan, 1979. Pp. 8+168. Price Rs. 16.00.

Viśvanātha, the illustrious author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, wrote a commentary entitled *Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa* on Mammaṭa's masterpiece, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Being the composition of a person whose scholarship was in no way inferior to that of the author of the work he commented upon and being the work of a person who was not only a scholar and critic but also a poet of considerable merit, the *Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa* has unique importance. No wonder, this commentary of Viśvanātha has been the one most sought after by the students of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. Dr. Goparaju Rama, in collaboration with Dr. Jagannatha Pathak, published in 1976, some portions of this commentary of Viśvanātha, i. e., those dealing with the Ullāsas III-VI mainly on the basis of a fragmentary manuscript available in the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad (vide the *Kāvyaprakāśa* with three commentaries, Allahabad: Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1976).

Since then Dr. Goparaju Rama has been in a constant search for the manuscript of the *Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa*. He fortunately discovered a paper manuscript, written in V. S. 1730 (=A.D. 1673) and presently deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The edition under review is based on this manuscript. The discovery of this manuscript was in itself so important that Dr. Goparaju Rama decided to make the text available in print

without further delay, though realizing it fully well that by doing so he may not be placing into the hands of scholars a meticulously edited text for want of further manuscripts. In editing the text in this manuscript, he has availed himself of Caṇḍīdāsa's *Kāvyaprakāśa-dīpikā* and his own previous edition of some portions of the *Kāvya-prakāśadarpaṇa*, besides offering his own plausible textual emendations. The text is at places lacunic and can be restored only with the help of further manuscripts. Till then one has to be content with what Dr. Goparaju Rama has offered in the present edition. This edition will undoubtedly prove of immense help for the next edition based on further manuscripts when discovered.

In the Introduction, the Editor has dealt with the date and authorship of the *Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa*, Viśvanātha's other works referred to in it as well as its special features. In transliterating Sanskrit words in Roman characters he should have better resorted to the standard scheme with proper diacritical marks.

The students of *Alaṅkāraśāstra* in general and Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* in particular should be grateful to Dr. Goparaju Rama for bringing out such a valuable and unique commentary to light and salvaging it from oblivion.

Though knowing fully well his limitations, Dr. Goparaju Rama has carried out the task in a successful manner and deserves our appreciation. We trust in future he will give us a complete authentic text of this commentary by discovering further manuscripts.

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मृद्वीका—(प्रेम्णः सप्तशती) डॉ० जगन्नाथ पाठक, प्रकाशक—गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद—२११००२, १९८३।

आज भारतीय भाषाओं के अत्यन्त समुन्नत तथा उनमें समृद्ध साहित्य-रचना होने पर भी इन भाषाओं की मूल जननी संस्कृत भाषा का जीवन अजिर बना हुआ है, तथा संस्कृत भाषा के समर्थ कवियों द्वारा इसमें साहित्य-रचना का प्रवाह सहज गति से प्रवाहित है। आज जिन कवियों की वाणी में संस्कृत भाषा का सहज काव्य-प्रवाह फूट रहा है, उनमें डॉ० जगन्नाथ पाठक का नाम शीर्षस्थ कवियों में है। उनकी नवीन काव्य रचना 'मृद्वीका' मधुगीति की सप्तशती है, दूसरे शब्दों में मधुबाला के रूप में जीवन का मधु (आनन्द) वितरित करनेवाली प्रेयसी की याद ही कवि की यह काव्य-रचना है। अपनी प्रेयसी के वियोग से सन्तप्त होकर उसका अन्तर्मन जिस प्रकार मधु रस में पिघल उठा है, उस मधु-रस के कण ही मृद्वीका के ७०२ छन्द हैं। पूरी रचना वैतालीय छन्द में हुई है, जो वियोग-भावों की अभिव्यक्ति में अत्यन्त समर्थ छन्दोयोजना है।

नारी के सम्मोहन का आकर्षण और वियोग कई रूपों में संसार के साहित्य में संगीत किया जाता रहा है। हिन्दी में हालावाद की काव्य-रचना फारस के उमर खैय्याम से प्रभावित होकर आयी। यह हालावाद अपने बीच, जगत् और सृष्टि के प्रवर्तन को देखता है। संस्कृत साहित्य में कृष्ण और राधा के प्रेम को लेकर धर्म तथा मोक्ष की अभिव्यक्ति की गयी है। कवि बिल्वमंगल ने कृष्ण को गोपियों के कुच-तट की धरती के साम्राज्य का एकमात्र भोक्ता (सम्राट्) कहकर गान किया है—

आनन्दं व्रजसुन्दरीस्तनतटीसाम्राज्यमुज्जृम्भते।

समझा जाना चाहिए कि मधुरस में विभोर कवि मानव अपने मन-अन्तर्मन के इस नारी आकर्षण को कितने उज्ज्वल और अनन्त वेशविन्यास में सजाता है, जिसकी शोभा में फिर धर्म तथा सृष्टि दोनों समाहित हो जाते हैं। यह सत्य हो या न हो, कवि का अपना सत्य यही है। बहुत कुछ उसी परम्परा में लिखी गयी यह काव्य-रचना "मृद्वीका" उस अतिशय भावना से हटकर मानवीय सत्य में अपने को उपस्थित करती है। कवि पाठक ने इसे बहुत कुछ मानवीय संवेदना से ओत-प्रोत रखा है। ईश्वरीय आभास से मुक्त रखने के कारण इसमें मानव के मन का सहज दर्शन होता है, यह इस काव्य की अपना विशेषता है जो इस परम्परा में लिखे काव्यों में नहीं

पायी जाती। तो भी कवि के ऊपर पुरातन परम्परा का प्रभाव सम्भवतः बहुत कुछ बना हुआ है, वह स्वयं को पिपासित चित्रित करता है, तथा आगे बढ़ता है तो उसे पृथ्वी और आकाश भी प्यास से व्याकुल दिखायी पड़ते हैं—

मम तीव्रतरा पिपासुता द्रवतां तद्धृदयं विनेष्यति।
स्वयमेव ममाधराग्रतः समुपस्थास्यति तत्करान्मधु ॥१।१०
क्षुधिता पृथिवी पिपासया गगनं साम्प्रतमस्ति विह्वलम्।
अलमेवमिह प्रतीक्षया जलदः श्याम इतो न दृश्यते ॥१।३२

कवि के शब्दों में मनुष्य के मन की जिस प्यास का चित्रण हुआ है उस प्यास की शान्ति सरोवर, नदी या समुद्र से सम्भव नहीं है, मधुपान ही उस प्यास की दवा है (१।६७)। ऐसी प्यास की उत्कट उत्कंठा से आक्रान्त मन ही इस काव्य का सृजन कर रहा है तथा यह मधुपान यथार्थ में क्या है, इसकी ओर कवि ने आरम्भ में ही संकेत कर दिया है—प्रेयसी की मुस्कान ही वह मधु है—

अपराध इतीव न स्मरेः
स्खलितं नाम पदे-पदे मम।
इयमस्ति चमत्कृतिस्तव
क्षणपीतस्य मधुस्मितस्य रे ॥१।२८

प्रत्येक मानव-मन अपनी प्रेयसी की मुस्कान के प्रति समर्पित होकर अपने इस समर्पण को अद्वितीय मानता है। वह समझता है कि मेरा दूसरा अनुगामी नहीं हो सकता, मैं ही अद्वितीय हूँ। ऐसे अद्वितीयों से प्रेमियों की परम्परा समृद्ध है। पर अपने को अद्वितीय कहकर ही प्रेमी इस पथ पर चलने को प्रवृत्त होता है और यदि वह कवि है तो फिर क्या कहना! वह कहता है कि न पहले ऐसा कोई हुआ है, न कोई दूसरा मेरा अनुगामी ही होगा—

मधुपानमिदं न मे मृषा प्रणयो नाभिनयश्च कश्चन।
न गतानुगतोऽस्मि कस्यचिन्मम न स्यादनुगोऽपि कश्चन ॥(१।६५)

इस मधुस्मित के लिए मन ने समाज की उपेक्षा सहन की है और जीवन में सब कुछ उपेक्षित कर दिया है। बिना इस उपेक्षा के मधुस्मित का मिलना सम्भव नहीं है, स्मित मिल सकता है पर वह मधुस्मित नहीं होगा। इसीलिए कवि कहता है—

सकलादिह मत्त इत्यहं तव हेतोः स्वजनादुपेक्षितः।
इह किंचिदुपेक्षसे त्वमप्यथ मां का नु गतिर्भवेन्मम ॥(१८४)

तीसरे शतक तक कवि को अपनी प्रेयसी की प्रतीक्षा है, जिसके मधुस्मित का या हाथ से प्रस्तुत मधुचषक का पान उसे करना है। पर यह प्रतीक्षा भावना या

अर्धतन्द्रा में है, क्योंकि प्रेयसी की नूपुरध्वनि उसे चित्त में ही सुनायी पड़ती है, जो वस्तुतः वियोग की विक्षिप्तानुभूति है—

श्रुतिमेति कुतोऽपि चेतसि द्रवयन् मां तव नूपुरध्वनिः ।
विमृशामि तदुद्गमो भवेदथ नेदीयसि वा दवीयसि ।।(२०८)

प्रेयसी के अभाव में या उसके क्रुद्ध हो जाने पर प्रकृति विपरीत हो जाती है, वर्षा ऋतु आग बरसाने लगती है और यदि प्रेयसी की अनुकूल आखें सामने हैं तो ग्रीष्म ऋतु में भी शीतलता छा जाती है—

प्रतिकूलतया तव भ्रुवोः प्रतपेत् प्रावृडिहांशुभिः खरैः ।
गमिते तु दयार्द्रतां त्वयि प्रखरो ग्रीष्म इहार्द्रतां व्रजेत् ।।(२१८)

तीसरे शतक के अनन्तर कवि उस वियोग की स्थिति में आता है, जहाँ उसे बोध हुआ कि प्रेयसी तो नहीं है, चली गयी, फिर वियोग की विविध अवस्थाओं के चित्र मधुचषक और मधुस्मित को केन्द्र बनाकर उद्गरित हुए हैं। वियोगावस्था, प्रेम की मधुर पीड़ा, उत्कण्ठा, समर्पण और प्रतीक्षा के अनेक भावचित्र कवि के हृदय से फूटे हैं जो हमारी भावना और मर्म को छूते तथा आन्दोलित करते हैं। कवि की रचना का यह मंजुल विधान संस्कृतकाव्यधारा में नयी स्रोतस्विनी का संगम है।

कवि चौथे शतक के आरम्भ में इस बोध में अपनी तन्द्रा से जागता है कि प्रेयसी इस मार्ग से चली गयी और मैं ठग गया, मुझे मधु नहीं मिल सका, उस मार्ग का ज्ञान कवि को प्रेयसी के शरीर से निकलकर फैलते सौरभ से हो रहा है—

परिकल्प्यत एव चेतसि त्वमनेनैव पथा गतो भवेः ।
तव नाम तनोरिव क्षणं सुरभिः कोऽप्यनुभूयते मया ।।(३०१)

पर प्रेयसी कहाँ मिलती है, कवि फूलों की माला लिये उसे पहनाने को खड़ा ही रह जाता है—

कुसुमस्रगियं करस्थिता मम न म्लानिमुपैतु साम्प्रतम् ।
तव कण्ठगतां विधाय तां स्वमहं सार्थकतां नयानि किम् ।।(३८१)

इस बीच कवि के भाव प्रेयसी के दर्शन की रट में ईश्वर के दर्शन में भी डूब जाते हैं। या कहिए कि प्रेयसी ही ईश्वर बन जाती है। कुछ देर ईश्वर की भावना की रट लगाते, फिर उसका मन प्रेयसी के रंग में तन्मय हो जाता है। कथा के विन्यास की यह शबलता काव्य-सौन्दर्य को द्विगुणित करती है और अभिव्यक्ति को भी चमत्कृत करती है। पर सामान्य रूप से जहाँ-तहाँ यह अभिव्यक्ति जटिल भी हो गयी है। इस प्रसंग के कुछ उद्गार देखिए—

प्रेयसी संसाररूपी नाटक का सूत्रधार है—

भवनाटकसूत्रधार हे
निजनेपथ्यगृहाद् विनिःसर ।।(३४२)

यदि उसके मधुसागर से एक बूंद भी मिल जाये तो जीवन की सफलता है—

तव रे मधुसागरादहं
पृषदेकं किमपीह कामये ।
तव तस्य न दानतः क्षतिः
सफलं जीवनमेव मे भवेत् ।।(३३६)

दूसरे स्थल पर कवि की प्रेयसी उस ब्रह्म की माया है। कवि ब्रह्म के रूप में राम को संबोधन कर रहा है, जो राम अपनी माया के साथ कवि के हृदय को भी ले चले—

हृदयं मम चित्रकूटतां नय तत्राभिरमस्व नीतया ।।
सततं सममेव सीतया मम हे राम मम प्रियाधिक ।।(३५५)

ऐसा लगता है कि ऐसी उक्तियां हिन्दी के कृष्ण और राम की मधुरभक्ति-सम्प्रदाय की साधना से अभिप्रेरित हैं।

फिर प्रणय की महिमा गाते हुए कवि कहता है कि जो मनुष्य लोह की शृंखला से नहीं बाँधा जा सकता, वह प्रेम की कोमल रस्सी से बुरी तरह बँध जाता है जिससे छूटना सम्भव ही नहीं होता—

न नियन्तुमशक्नुवन् जनं यमिमा आसशृंखला अपि ।
स निबद्ध इहावातिष्ठते मृदुरज्ज्वा प्रणयाख्यया भुवि ।।(३८८)

कवि विशुद्धरूप से वियोग की व्यथा में क्लान्त होकर काव्य-रचना के लिए स्फुटवाक् हो रहा है। वह अपने को उस मरुभूमि के समान मानता है, जहाँ न चन्द्रिका का प्रकाश हुआ, न ही मेघ की कतारों ने बरसात की—

निपपात न यत्र चन्द्रिका न ववर्षाम्बुदमण्डली यतः ।
मरुरस्मि स दुर्गतः फलं किमितो मत्सदृशेन तिष्ठता ।।(४६४)

सब जगह दीप की मालिका प्रकाश बिखेर रही है, पर उसका हृदय कुटीर प्रेयसी की मधुस्मिति के बिना अन्धकार से आच्छन्न है—

नगरे नगरे गृहे गृहे क्व न दीपावलयश्चकासति ।
तमसा मम हृत्कुटीरकं कथमद्यावधि नैव मुच्यते । (४८७)

ऐसे ही दूसरे अनेक सूक्तिरसों से भरा हुआ मृद्वीका का काव्यघट हमें वियोग-जनित भाव-सृष्टि की रमणीक उपत्यकाओं में विभोर कर देता है। हम इसे पढ़कर जीवन के रस में डूबते हैं, जीवन की संजीवनी पीते हैं तथा कवि को साधुवाद देते हैं।

काव्य-रचना-प्रक्रिया की दृष्टि से जो अभाव हमें इस काव्य में दिखायी पड़ सकता है, अथवा कथा-प्रवाह एवं भाव-प्रवणता की तन्मयता का बीच-बीच में विच्छिन्न होना जैसा दोष सूक्ष्म दृष्टि से हम पा सकते हैं। वह एक सामान्य बात है। पर इसका कारण इस काव्य में ही खोजने में मिल जाता है। कवि प्रेयसी के वियोग

की तल्लीनता में अपने को पूर्णरूप से समर्पित करते-करते उस समय जाग उठा, जब उसको इस वियोग भाव को काव्य में गाने के लिए बलवती इच्छा ने ग्रस लिया अर्थात् हृदय ने वियोग की अनुभूति से हटकर अपने को रचमान-स्थिति में डाल दिया। होना यह चाहिए था कि हृदय को पता ही न होता, वियोग ही स्वयं काव्य रचना की सृजमान स्थिति में परिवर्तित हो जाता, पर ऐसा हो नहीं पाया। कवि ने स्वयं इस वियोग भाव को अपने कवि कर्म का विषय बनाने की घोषणा की है—

न यशो न मनोऽनुरंजनं
मम साध्यं कविकर्मणि स्थितम्।
अनया खलु चेष्टया स्वहृद्-
गतमावेद्यत इत्यभीप्सितम्॥(६८७)
दृगपांगविशेषपातना-
दनुगृह्णाति यदा सरस्वती।
भणितिर्हृदये कवेस्तदा
रसभावाकलिता प्रकाशते॥(६८४)

इस प्रतिज्ञा का उदय हृदय में न हुआ होता तो इस काव्य की रचना और भी मनोहर हो जाती।

जयशंकर त्रिपाठी

प्रवक्ता, संस्कृत विभाग
ईश्वरशरण डिग्री कालेज,
इलाहाबाद।

———

काव्यप्रकाशः (द्वितीयो भागः) गुणरत्नगणिप्रणीतया सारदीपिकया व्याख्ययोपेतः, षष्ठोल्लासतः दशमोल्लासं यावत्। सम्पादकः—डा० टी० एस० नन्दी, निदेशकः—एल० डी० भारतीय प्राच्यविद्याशोधसंस्थानम्, अहमदाबाद। प्रकाशकः—गुर्जरविश्वविद्यालयः, अहमदाबाद प्रकाशनसमयः १९८४ ई०। पृष्ठसंख्या—१४+२८+५८०। मूल्यम्—१६ रूप्यकाणि।

काव्यप्रकाशस्य शताधिकासु टीकास्वन्यतमेयं जैनालङ्कारिकस्य गुणरत्नगणिमहाशयस्य सारदीपिकाव्याख्या वस्तुतोऽन्वर्थनाम्न्यभिप्रायावबोधैकस्वभावा सरला यावदुक्तोपपन्ना नातिविस्तरा सामीक्षिक्या दृष्ट्या प्रथमतः साधु परिष्कृत्य सम्पादिता

प्रकाशिता चेति प्रमोदस्थानं साहित्यविद्यासमुपासकानाम् । प्रथमोऽस्याः भागः प्रथमोल्लासतः षष्ठोल्लासं यावदनेनैव विद्वद्वरेण्येन साधु सम्पाद्य प्रागेव प्रकाशितः उत्तरार्द्धोऽपि भागः सप्तमोल्लासतः दशमोल्लासं यावदिदानीं विदुषां समक्षमुपास्थापयदयं गुर्जरविश्वविद्यालयः ।

तिस्रोऽस्याष्टीकाया मातृकाः पुना वडोदा जोधपुरेभ्यः संगृह्य सम्पादकेनेह व्यवहृताः । तासां तारतम्यञ्चालोचितम् । व्याख्येयं नरहरिसरस्वतीतीर्थस्य बालचित्तानुरञ्जन्या श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनभट्टाचार्यस्य सारबोधिन्या च व्याख्ययाधिकं प्रभाविता विद्यते । गुणरत्नगणिमहाशयस्तु स्वकीयायां व्याख्यायां तयोरेव संगृह्याभिप्रायं ताभ्यामप्यधिकं वैशद्यं बहुत्र प्रकटयति । एतद्धि स्वाभाविकं विदुषः व्याख्याकृतः कृते भवति ।

सम्पादनविधौ नितान्तमभिज्ञेन साहित्यविद्याविद्योतमानमानसेन डा० तपस्वी नन्दिमहाभागेन सम्पादितेयं सारदीपिका व्याख्या सामीक्षिकसम्पादनकर्मणि प्रविविक्षूणां कृते यथार्थत आदर्शतां प्रयाति । स्फुटं परिलक्षितस्याशुद्धस्यापि मातृकापाठस्य यथास्थानं सन्निवेशं-कुर्वता मातृकायाः वास्तविकं स्वरूपं संरक्षता विद्वद्वरेण सम्पादकेन त्रिविधेषु कोष्ठेषु यथायथं पदपरिवर्तन-पदयोजन-पदत्यागात्मकः स्वकीयाभिप्रायोऽपि प्रकाशितः, येन परिष्कारोऽभवदस्याः व्याख्याया इति दृष्टमत्रास्माभिः । प्रथमभागस्यास्य ग्रन्थस्य गङ्गानाथझा केन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठीयशोधपत्रिकायां समीक्षामाचरता विद्वद्वरेण डा० गोपराजुराममहाशयेन सम्पादनविधौ यः प्रमादोऽवलोकितः स खलु विदुषां दृष्टिभेदमात्रमासीन्नतु प्रमादः कस्यापि । यतो हि भूमिकायां स्पष्टप्रतिपत्तये प्रतिश्रुते [ ] एवं विधे कोष्ठक एव प्रामादिकः पाठः संरक्षितः सम्पादकेन किन्तु त्वरायामवलोकमानेन समीक्षकेण स एव पाठः संशोधनात्मक इति परिकल्प्य दोषः प्रदर्शितः । यतो हि प्रामादिकपाठापाकृतये कोष्ठकप्रकारप्रयोग एषां कृते प्रसिद्धिविरहत्वेन नूतन आसीदिति सम्पादकसमीक्षकयोः पत्राचारेण निरस्तोऽसौ मानसिकः खेदः प्रमादश्च मतिमतोरिति मादृशां धारणा । व्याख्यायामस्यां सारदीपिकायां समागतानां ग्रन्थान्तर संवादानां समुद्धृतानां ग्रन्थकाराणां ग्रन्थानां च परिचयस्य प्रदर्शनं नाभिज्ञतया विना सम्भवतीति सम्पादनमिद सम्पादकस्य महन्नैपुण्यं प्रख्यापयति । यदुक्तमभियुक्तैः—

'मूलग्रन्थस्य निर्माणात् प्रत्नग्रन्थस्य शोधनम् ।
सहस्रगुणितक्लेशसंसाध्यमिति मे मतिः' ॥

मादृशामपीह तथाविधैव वर्तते धारणा । किञ्च —'पूर्वप्रतिष्ठापितयोजनासु मूलप्रतिष्ठाफलमामनन्ति' इति प्राचीनाभाणकोऽपि मादृशां विचारेष्वेवेह समाचरति पक्षपातम् । इहान्ते त्रिषु परिशिष्टेषु यथाक्रमं श्लोकानां काव्यप्रकाशोदाहृतानां सूची, प्राकृतपद्यानां संस्कृतच्छायाथ च पश्चादुपलब्धयापि जोधपुरमातृकया प्रागेव प्रकाशितस्यैतद्ग्रन्थस्य प्रथमभागस्य सन्दिग्धस्थलेषु संशोधनं विधायेह प्रकाशितं तदिति बुद्धिमदनुरूपः शास्त्रसंशोधनविषयको विदुषः सम्पादकस्याग्रहः श्लाघनीयतां भजते ।

तस्मादिह सम्पादकप्रकाशकौ प्रशंसापात्रतां भजेते । साहित्यविद्यापरिशीलन-पराश्छात्राः गवेषकाः विद्वांसश्च व्याख्ययानया लाभान्विता अवश्यं भवेयुरिति मादृशां दृढा धारणा । एवं विधानेव ग्रन्थान् प्रकाशयन् गुर्जरविश्वविद्यालयोऽग्रिमेऽपि काले भारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासमुपासकानुपकरिष्यतीति मे विश्वासः ।

किशोरनाथ झा

प्रवाचकः
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ, इलाहाबाद ।

उत्तर भारत में शिक्षा व्यवस्था (६००-१२०० ई०) लेखिका—डा० गीता देवी, प्रवक्ता प्राचीन इतिहास संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्त्व विभाग । इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय । प्रकाशक—इण्डियन प्रेस (पब्लिकेशन्स) प्राइवेट लिमिटेड, इलाहाबाद । पृष्ठसंख्या १-२१४ । प्रकाशन समय-१९८० । मूल्य-३० रुपये ।

लेखिका का यह शोधप्रबन्ध भारतीय शिक्षा के अध्ययन के क्षेत्र में एक अभाव की पूर्ति का सराहनीय प्रयास है । उसमें उत्तर भारत की शिक्षा व्यवस्था के विविध पक्षों का समुचित विवेचन गया है । लेखिका ने परिष्कृत भाषा में प्रत्येक तथ्य सप्रमाण एवं क्रमबद्ध प्रस्तुत किया है तथा अनपेक्षित बातों का समावेश यहाँ नहीं है । फलतः—

संस्कृत के प्रसिद्ध टीकाकार आचार्य मल्लिनाथ की उक्ति 'नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते' का पूर्णतः अनुसरण स्वाभाविकरूप से यहाँ हुआ है । साहित्यिक ग्रन्थ, विविध अभिलेख, विदेशियों के द्वारा लिखे गये भारत के विवरण तथा विविध शोध निबन्धों के आधार पर प्रतिपाद्य विषयों की आलोचना प्रामाणिक, तर्कपूर्ण एवं प्रसङ्गसङ्गत ढंग से यहाँ प्रस्तुत की गयी है ।

यह शोध प्रबन्ध आठ अध्यायों में विभक्त है । भारतीय शिक्षा का अर्थ, उद्देश्य तथा आदर्श आदि विषयों का विवेचन प्रथम अध्याय में हुआ है । बच्चों की शिक्षा का प्रकार एवं प्रक्रिया का विवरण द्वितीय अध्याय में दिया गया है । तृतीय अध्याय में उच्च शिक्षा तथा शिक्षा के विषय के प्रसङ्ग में प्रकाश डाला गया है । चतुर्थ अध्याय

में शिक्षण केन्द्रों का आलोचन है। पंचम अध्याय में स्त्रीशिक्षा और षष्ठ अध्याय में व्यावसायिक शिक्षा का स्वरूप प्रदर्शित हुआ है। सप्तम अध्याय में राज्य के साथ शिक्षा का सम्बन्ध एवं शिक्षा सम्बन्धी अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर प्रकाश डाला गया है। अष्टम अध्याय में शिक्षा एवं साहित्य की विशेष प्रवृत्तियों का विवरण दिया गया है। लेखक और प्रकाशक धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। इससे इस विषय के जिज्ञासु पाठक अवश्य लाभान्वित होंगे—ऐसी मेरी धारणा है।

—किशोरनाथ झा

प्रवाचक,
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ,
इलाहाबाद

— — —

OBITUARY

DR. ISHWARI PRASAD

Dr. Ishwari Prasad, a noted historian and a great scholar of Indology passed into history on 26th Oct., 1986. He was 98. He was one of those rare personalities who devoted their entire lives to the cause of learning (*Jñāna-Yajña*).

Dr. Ishwari Prasad was born in Kurra Chittarpur Village of Fatehabad tehsil in Agra district in 1888. After his early education in his village School, he passed his High School examination from Mufidam High School, Agra. He did his B.A., M.A. and LL.B. from Agra College.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad started his career as a Lecturer in Agra College. His knowledge of his subject was so deep and his style of teaching so fascinating that when the then Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University, Prof. Rasbroke Williams came to know about his talents, he immediately invited him to join the History Deptt. of Allahabad University as Lecturer in 1915. Later, he became the Head of the Deptt. of Political Science.

He was associated with several academic institutions and was the member of U. P. Legislative Council for 18 years from 1952-1970. He was also a member of the Executive Council and the Allahabad University Court for 26 years. He was actively associated with various bodies of different Universities.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad has to his credit about 50 books on Medieval History and other subjects, most of which have been translated in various foreign languages. His works won for him world wide acclaim. Some of his writings are—*Mughal India, Mughal Empire, Humayun and His Time, India in 18th Century, Hindu-Muslim Problems, European History, Medieval India, Rana Shamsher Singh and His Time* (Nepal) etc.

It had been a matter of great pleasure and privilege for us that Dr. Ishwari Prasad was associated with our institution for quite a long period. He was Vice-President of the Executive Committee of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad (now called Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha after takeover by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi in 1971) and took keen interest in its projects and development. Despite his old age, he remained actively engaged in promoting research work. He founded a Research Institute named Dr. Ishwari Prasad Institute of History at Allahabad and also started a research Journal on History.

His death is an irreplaceable loss to the field of Indological Studies and to the nation as a whole. He will remain immortal through his works. There is no fear of decay and death to his immortal body of glory.

—The Editors

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गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्ननूतनलघुग्रन्थानां सङ्कलनम्

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः
परिशिष्टम्

॥ कटकराजवंशावलिः ॥

**पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रमपेक्ष्य वर्णितम् उत्कलानां
पारम्परिकमैतिह्यम्**

•

सा च

प्रयागस्थगङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठीयप्राचार्यपदमधितिष्ठता

त्रिपाठ्युपाह्वेन गयाचरणेन

शर्मण्यदेशस्थहाइडेलबर्गविश्वविद्यालयीयदक्षिणाशियासंस्थाने

आचार्यपदमधिकृतवता

कुल्के-उपाह्वेन हेर्मानेन

च

समीक्षात्मकदृष्ट्या सुसंपाद्य, आङ्लभाषया अनूद्य

गवेषणात्मिकाभिष्टिप्पण्यादिभिः

समलङ्कृता

॥ तस्याः चायं पूर्वार्द्धभागः ॥

गैर्वाणीग्रन्थमाला गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः परिशिष्ट-रूपेण प्रकाश्यते। अस्यामप्रकाशितानि पुनः संपादितानि वा विविधग्रन्थप्रसूनानि संगृहीतानि भवन्ति। एतनि पुस्तकप्रसूनानि स्वतन्त्रतयापि स्वल्पमूल्येन क्रेतुं शक्यन्ते।

प्रकाशकः

डा० गयाचरण त्रिपाठी

प्राचार्यः

गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्

प्रयाग–२

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INTRODUCTION

The *Kaṭakarājavaṃśāvali* is a Sanskrit work compiled in the early part of the 19th century from older records available probably in the archives of Jagannātha Temple and/or with the functionaries like *Taḍhāu Karaṇa* and *Deula Karaṇa* who are responsible for keeping the records of various nature connected with Jagannātha Temple with them. The text describes vividly the political history of Orissa right since the beginning of the Kali era keeping always the temple of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha in the centre. It is thus the traditional history of Orissa as visualised from the standpoint of the priests of the Jagannātha Temple, though there is no denying to the fact that very often significant historical facts not having any bearing upon Jagannātha Temple have also been faithfully recorded. The text forms part of the corpus of literature broadly categorised as the *Mādlā Pāñjī* or the 'Drum-Chronicle', so called because of the appearance of its manuscripts long palmleaves of which are tugged together in the form of a cylindrical drum.

The existence of such corpus of literature having value for reconstructing the history of Orissa was known from the beginning of the past century when British administrators of Puri started apprising the Govt. of East India Company at Calcutta/Cuttack of the history and nature of the Jagannātha Temple and the ritual practices prevailing in it. Groem, the collector of Puri, submitted his detailed report in 1805 on the affairs of the Temple for which he had consulted the palmleaf records of the Temple and

another Collector William Trower mentioned very clearly the name of 'Madla Panjee' in one of his letters written in 1814 to a member of the Board of Revenue at Cuttack ("...the Rajah of Khoordah on all occasions where he wishes to give trouble, quotes 'Madla Panjee' or record of the temple..").

A. Sterling published an account of Orissa in *Asiatic Researches*, 15 (1822), pp. 163-338 and mentioned in the Introduction to the III chapter that one of the Chief sources from which he had derived information was "A work in Sanskrit called Vansavali belonging to a learned Brahmin of Puri, said to have been composed by some of his ancestors three or four centuries back and continued down in the family to the present date". In 1844 B. Bandopadhyaya published the text and translation of a Bengali version of the Temple chronicle under the title *Puruṣottama-Candrikā* which was later (1872) utilised by W. W. Hunter for writing the history of Orissa. A Telugu work named *Jagannātha-Sthala-Vṛttāntamu* containing portions on the traditional history of Orissa is also available in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (D. No. 2612) and is being presently edited by Pt. S. N. Rajguru and Prof. H. Kulke.

In 1940 Prof. A. B. Mahanti of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack published three Oriya texts bearing upon the traditional history of Orissa under the caption "*Mādalā Pāñjī* (Rājabhoga Itihāsa)".[1] Prof. Mohanty writes in the introduction to this work that he has prepared the text on the basis of three manuscripts preserved in the palace of the Raja of Puri as well as in the residences of the *Taḍhāu Karaṇa* and the *Deula Karaṇa* of the Jagannātha Temple. Whereas the versions of Pāñjī 1 and Pāñjī 2 contain accounts of historical events connected with the majority of the Kings who

1. Published by Prācī Samiti, Cuttack, 1st Ed., 1940, Reprinted by Utkala University, Bhubaneswar, 1969.

ruled over Orissa, the 3rd version is simply a geneological table. Prof. Mohanty remains silent throughout as to the fact from whom he procured which version. As a part of Col. Mackenzie's collection ('137 Manuscripts pertaining to Orissa and mostly in Oriya') was sent in 1938 to the Secretary of the Orissa Academy located at the Ravenshaw College,[2] Cuttack on whose staff Prof. Mohanty was also serving as Professor of Oriya, the possibility of the existence of Oriya texts of historical nature similar to the one which Prof. Mohanty published in 1940 and his use thereof for preparing his edition of 'Mādalā Pāñjī' cannot be ruled out.

It seems likely that though Prof. Mohanty did perhaps copy out certain text pieces of historical nature from the records preserved with the *Deula Karaṇa* and the *Taḍhāu Karaṇa,* his main sources were probably the texts sent to him (i. e. to Orissa Academy) from Madras. While we were carrying out field studies in Orissa in the years 1970-72 in connection with the Orissa Research Project[3] one of us (Tripathi) inspected the entire collection of the Deula Karaṇa personally and negotiated its purchase for the project. The most ancient of all the manuscripts in collection of Deula Karaṇa purchased by us is a work of 17th century (started during the time of Narasiṃhadeva (1623-47 A.C.) and completed probably during the reign of Divyasimhadeva (1689-1715 A.C.) which contains a variety of topics including a sizable portion on the history of Orissa which runs upto the end of Gajapati Sūryavaṃśa dynasty (i. e. Kāluā Deva & Kakhārua Deva). The lower half of the last leaf as well as the subsequent leaves have been left

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2. Personal information received by us (Kulke) at the State Archives in Madras in 1971.

3. A regional Research Programme sponsored by the University of Heidelberg and Freiburg and financed by the German Research Council, Bonn 1970-75.

blank, obviously to continue the chronicle later. This historical portion does not bear much similarity with the Oriya text of Mādalā Pāñjī as published by Prof. Mohanty.

The Deula Karaṇa also showed me an ancient paper notebook in which his forefathers noted down the salient features of the rule of a King (i. e. Ruler of Khurdha) when he died. The father of the present Deula Karaṇa had written in that notebook a long paragraph about the nature of rule and achievements of Rāmachandra-Deva who died in 1954. This was a sort of resumé of what he had done and achieved in his life time with particular reference to the Temple at Puri (e. g. the electrification of the Temple under him was especially stressed). The Deula Karaṇa told me that they used to write a paragraph like this everytime when an old King departed and a new King took charge. The text of Mādalā Pāñjī thus continued to grow from time to time.

The work *Kaṭakarājavaṃśāvaliḥ* which is being herewith presented to the scholars with English translation and historical notes also basically forms part of Col. Mackenzie's collection which was sent to London from Madras in early 1825. It is numbered as II.102 and it was received at London on September 14th, 1825 A.C. The collection was later taken over in the manuscripts stock of the India Office Library and it received the new accession number 7334. One can find a short description of the work under this number in the Manuscripts Catalogue of the India Office Library, London prepared by Prof. A. B. Keith, the famous Indologist. This is a small palmleaf Manuscript containing nearabout 60 folia having a size of approximately 5cm$\times$20cm. The writing is neatly inscribed by stylus on the leaves in Devanagari characters which is rather rare because due to the continuous straight line required to be drawn on the head of the letters the palmleaves tend to break at several points. Even the Sanskrit manuscripts in Orissa are

therefore usually written in round Oriya characters. The writing or engraving on the leaves has not been smeared with lampblack etc. which makes it difficult to read.

We came to know of the existence of this text in the year 1974 when one of us (Tripathi) went to London to look for certain texts on the cult of Jagannātha. He copied it out in his own hand sitting in the Library and brought it to Germany where it was utilised by him as well as some others for their work on Orissa. Later it was found out that the text bears close resemblence to the text designated as *Oḍradeśavaṃśāvalī* deposited in the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, a copy of which had been procured for the Project by another of the authors (Kulke) in the year 1971. Since the text was of exceptional importance for the historical studies pertaining to Orissa we decided to edit it critically taking the readings of both the MSS in view. The work of editing and translating the text was taken over in the newly formed Follow-up Research Programme of the Orissa Research Project named "Sources of Orissan History".

While the work was in progress, Prof. K. C. Mishra (formerly Professor of Oriya at the Berhampur University), oblivious of the existence of *Kaṭakarājavaṃśāvalī* at London, published in 1983 the text of *Oḍradeśavaṃśāvalī*[4] which he had also procured from Madras while he worked on the Cult of Jagannātha for his Ph. D. Degree. He would perhaps not have done so had he known that there existed a much better text of this very work in the India Office Library, London. In fact, no scholar would ever do this since the text of the *Oḍradeśavaṃśāvalī* is not only hopelessly cor-

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4. Local Records Vol. 60, Pp. 303-357 of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, named "Geneology of the Kings of Oḍradeśa" in the Catalogue.

rupt at innumerable places (which has led him to 'correct' the text arbitrarily at several points) but it also contains large lacunae here and there. However, Prof. K. C. Mishra published it under the assumption that no other manuscript of this valuable work existed elsewhere hence even this fragmentary Sanskrit text would be of some interest to the scholars.

In preparing the present edition the editors have utilised both the manuscripts of the work deposited at London (L) and Madras (M) respectively. We have, however, deliberately ignored the readings of Prof. K. C. Mishra where he arbitrarily corrects (or corrupts) the text and have strictly adhered to the readings supplied by the certified copy of the Madras manuscript. The Manuscript deposited at the India Office Library is fortunately very reliable and is preserved in excellent condition otherwise it would not have been possible to reconstruct the text so successfully. At some places, however, the Madras MS has also provided valuable readings and hints for proper reconstruction of the text.

Though both the MSS of the Kaṭakarājavaṃśāvalī are written in Devanāgarī characters, there is no doubt as to the fact that this work, when composed, was first written in Oriya script like all other Sanskrit manuscripts now available in Orissa. There are several instances in both the MSS which prove this fact, e. g. :

(a) The word ध्रुव is found as written as धृव in Paragraph 27 of the MS 'L' and ऋजुता as रुजता in Para. 49-A (corrupted to रुदता in the MS 'M'). This is due to the fact that the vowel ऋ is pronounced as रु in Oriya.

(b) The appearance of the letters रा and ग is very similar in Oriya script except for the fact that रा has a slanting stroke below. The name of the King राजराजेश्वर in Para. 50 has been misspelt in both the

MSS as गजराजेश्वर which seems to be due to the fact that the slanting stroke below was missing in the Original Oriya work.

(c) The Oriya क्ष is pronounced as ख्य. This has led to the corruption of नवाक्षि into नवाख्य in the MS 'M' in Para. 34.

(d) The similarity of म and स in Oriya has led to such corruptions as पारस्वरेण for पारम्पर्येण। in Para. 6 (of 'M') or राजधान्या सभाम्यां (for राजधान्यामुभाम्या) etc.

Direct influence of Oriya language on the Sanskrit of the author is clearly discernible in the use of the word 'नगर' in the sense of 'Royal Palace' (Oriya नअर =Royal Palace) and the use of the word उत्फेटितम् in the sense of 'opened' which is the case only in the Oriya language. In Oriya the word फेटिबा means "to open". So also the expression बन्दीभूतम् ('it was closed') becomes intelligible only when one thinks of the meaning of ' बन्द हेइ गला ' in Oriya.

It seems that the text of our Manuscripts is not an outcome of the task of *copying* from an older original but of *dictation* by an Oriya/Bengali knowing Pandit to the scribe. The following accoustic corruptions betray this fact :

तथा कर्णे	(§6)	for	तदाकर्ण्य
शयितं	(§6)	for	सहितं
वैष्णवो दाता	(§32)	for	वैष्णवो जातः
कालोन्नितः	(§35)	for	कालो नीतः
बृहस्पति	(§52)	for	बृहत्पथि
विधायःक्त्यो	(§68)	for	विधायागत्य
तयेव	(§68)	for	त एव
विरुधयो धूमारब्धम्	(§107)	for	विरुध्य योद्धुमारब्धम्

These examples may further be multiplied. The dictation-copying is again borne out by the fact that there are often a number of redundant fullstops (*virāma-s*) within a sentence.

The person reading out the original seems to be an Oriya or Bengali Pandit judging from the following corruptions :

तदाकन्नो	(§6)	for	तदाकर्ण्य
तथाकन्ये	(§6)	for	तदाकर्ण्य
माच [<माछ]	(§41)	for	मत्स्य
वत्स्त्वया [<वच्छस त्वया]	(§6)	for	वत्स त्वया
जयशिगेन	(§78, 79)	for	जयसिंहेन
बोडसंनदास	(§96)	for	बड संतदास

There are innumerable '*Tamilisms*' in the Madras manuscript. There is no doubt that the prototype of the transcript that we have received from Madras was prepared by a Tamil not so well-versed in Sanskrit. The following corruptions point towards this direction :

वन्दनं	(§24)	for	बन्धनं
लालभोग	(§34)	for	नालावाग (=लालबाग)
किञ्चित् तृणं	(§34)	for	किञ्चिदृणं
मन्दिर खटना	(§48)	for	मन्दिरघटना
आवत्यो	(§68)	for	आगत्य (ग = ग्रो in Oriya)
राजापक्तम्	(§75)	for	राज्ञापगतम्
भृजपंगो	(§76)	for	भुजभंगो
बोद्दवंशीया	(§78)	for	भोइवंशीया
यात्राधिकं	(§94)	for	यात्रादिकं
वाद्या	(§95)	for	वात्या
पता	(§94)	for	पथा
मण्ट म्	(§94, 104)	for	मण्डपम्
चोटनाथ	(§100)	for	छोटनाथ

That the scribe of this MS did not belong to Orissa is proved by his ignorance of the local names. He misspells, for example:

पारिकृत	(§83)	for	पारिकुद
जाजीपुर	(§87)	for	याजपुर
कोणिग्र	(§51)	for	कोणार्क

and renders शिवाइ (= सवाइ) as शिवाय !

The final compilation or redaction of the text of the *Kaṭakarāja-voṃśāvalī* took place in the year 1820 A.C. (Kali era 4921) as mentioned at the very outset of the work. There may not, however, be any doubt as to the fact that the text was compiled on the basis of much older and genuine historical records preserved either in the Temple (of Jagannātha) Archives or with the record-keepers of the temple. It is proposed to publish a detailed historical study of this text as the second volume of this work which shall hopefully appear soon.

We wish to thank here the German Research Council, Bonn for granting and financing the Project "Sources of Orissan History" under which the present work has been prepared, The *South Asia Institute* of the Heidelberg University which accorded facilities for carrying out this research work especally during the stay of one of us (Tripathi) at Heidelberg in 1985, *Indian Council of Historical Research,* Delhi for bearing the costs of air passage for Tripathi and last but not the least, *Km. Tapati Pal,* the sincere, efficient and energetic Stenographer of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute who noted down the whole of English translation first in shorthand and then typed it out twice incorporating corrections in order to make it flawless in every respect.

G. C. Tripathi, H. Kulke

।। नीलनगर्नतिने नमः ।।

अथश्री-

।। कटकराजवंशावलिः ।।

१. A. शिवः। कलेर्भोगयुगाब्दाः शशिलोचनवायुमिताः ।।४६२१।। एतन्मध्ये कति राजानो गताः। तेषां प्रत्येकं भोगकालो लिख्यते। प्रथमतो युगादौ युधिष्ठिरमहाराजभोगकालः द्वादशवर्षाणि ।।१२।। अनन्तरमेतन्नप्ता परीक्षिन्महाराजा राज्यं कृतवान्। अनेन पुत्रवत् प्रजाः पालिताः। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः नगेषुनगमितः ।।७५७।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाः गोरसगिरयः ।।७६९।। अनन्तरं तत्पुत्रो जनमेजयमहाराजा राज्यं शशास। एतस्य कर्मादिकं महाभारतसिद्धम्। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः अर्केषुमितः ।।५१२।। एतद्योगे गतयुगाब्दा एकाशीत्यधिकद्वादशशतानि ।।१२८१।। अतः परं तत्पुत्रः संवरनामा राजा बभूव। अनेन कलेः प्राबल्यं दृष्ट्वा तदीयाचरणं चरितम्। तस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशाधिकचतुःशतम् ।।४१०।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाश्चन्द्रनवकलामिताः ।।१६९१।।

B. अतः परं तत्पुत्रो गौतमनामा राज्यं कृतवान्। अस्य राज्यस्य भोगकालः त्रिसप्तत्यधिकशत[1]त्रयम् ।।३७३।। एतद्योगे गतयुगाब्दा युगाङ्गनखमिताः ।।२०६४।। [अनन्तरम्] एतत्पुत्रो महेन्द्रदेवनामा राज्यं चकार। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशाधिकशतद्वयम् ।।२१५।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाः नवनगाकृतिमिताः ।।२२७९।। अतः परं षष्ठिदेव[2]नामा राजा बभूव। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः वेदाग्नीन्दवः ।।१३४।। एतद्योगे भुक्तयुगाब्दाः विश्वजिनमिताः ।।२४१३।। अनन्तरं तत्पुत्रः सशांक[3]देवो

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1. सप्तत्रयम् L.
2. अतः परमसटीदेव° L.
3. (a) This word can also be read as सशोक in MS L.
(b) षटसाकु-देव M.

राजा जज्ञे[४]। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः सार्द्धशतं [वत्सराः[५]] ।।१५०।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाः त्रिषष्ट्यधिकपञ्चविंशतिशतानि ।।२५६३।। अनन्तरं वज्रनाभनामा राज्यं कृतवान् । असौ महासूरः,[६] विपक्षराजान्[७] जित्वा[८] राज्यानि गृहीतानि । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तदशाधिकशतं वत्सराः ।।११७।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाः अशीत्यधिकषड्विंशतिशतानि ।।२६८०।। अनन्तरम् एतत्पुत्रः शरशंख[९]देवो राजा बभूव । असावतीव शूरवीरः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशाधिकशतं वत्सराः ।।११५।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाः पञ्चगोभमिताः ।।२७९५।। अनन्तरं हंसदेवनामा[१०] राजा बभूव । एतत्समये[११] काश्मीरदेशान्म्लेच्छैरागत्य अनेन युद्धं कृत्वा परावृत्य[१२] गताः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः आकृतिचन्द्रमितः ।।१२२।। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दाः नगेन्दुनवबाहवः ।।२९१७।। अतः परं भोजराज [स्य] उत्पत्तिः । एतस्य कर्मादिकं बहुलोकप्रसिद्धम् । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः नगार्कमितः[१३]। एतद्योगे भोगयुगाब्दा युगवेदनभोवह्नयः[१४] ।।३०४४।।

२. A. चतुश्चत्वारिंशदधिकत्रिसहस्रमितकलिवत्सरानन्तरं[१५] विक्रमार्कस्योत्पत्तिः । अनेनाष्टवेतालानां[१६] साधनं कृतम् । अपि वेतालप्रसादाद् गुटिकापादुकासिद्धिः । अग्निजलस्तम्भनं च साधितम् । एकेनैवाह्ना[१७] शतयोजनपरिमितं मार्गभ्रमणं क्रियते । द्वात्रिंशत्सोपानयुक्तावत्कन्यासहित - शशिकान्तमणिमयसिंहासनेऽभि-

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4. यज्ञ M.
5. The bracketed portion occurs only in MS M.
6. महासुरः M., Read महाशूरः । Comma by Editor.
7. Sic ! This grammatically incorrect reading is supported by both L and M.
8. मुक्त्वा M.
9. Could it be शशाङ्क ? Ed.
10. M omits the word °नामा ।
11. These two words are missing in L.
12. परावृतो M.
13. नवार्कमितः M, जगार्कमितः in L which has later been corrected into नगार्क° by the scribe himself. The years meant are 127.
14. युगभेदेनभोवन्नयः M.
15. M reads एतद्वत्सरानन्तरं ।
16. अनेन अभेतालानां M.
17. एकंवह्ना M. एकेनाह्ना L.

षिक्तेन बुद्धिबलादनेकाश्चर्य[18]कारिविद्यादिकं साधितम् । अनन्तरमागत्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे भगवद्दर्शनं कृतम् । ततः कालवशेन शालिवाहनशकेन व्यापादितः । तत एव शकाब्दप्रवृत्तिरिति । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चत्रिंशदधिकशतं वत्सराः ।।१३५।। एतद्योगेऽतीतभोगयुगाब्दाः ।।३१७९।।

B. अनन्तरं कर्माजितनामकराजा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेनापि विष्णुपरायणेन हस्तिनापुरे राज्यं[19] शासितम् । नवरंगसाहनामकयवनाधिपेनानेकम्लेच्छैः सह संगत्य हस्तिनापुराद् राजाऽवरोपितः । तत आगत्य राज्ञा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे श्रीमूर्तिदर्शनं कृतम् । अनन्तरं कालधर्ममुपगतः । तस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चषष्टिवर्षाणि । विक्रमार्कानन्तरं शकप्रवृत्तेरेतावन्त एव[20] शकवत्सराः ।।६५।।

C. अतः परं कर्माजितपुत्रो वटुकेश्वरदेवनामा राजा बभूव । असौ शाबरविद्याधुरीणः । कूटादिनानेकराजयवन[21]म्लेच्छादीन् जित्वा अनेकराज्यानि गृहीतानि । देवब्राह्मणादीनां प्रासादाग्रहारादिकं कारितवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः एकपञ्चाशद्वर्षाणि ।।५१।। एतद्योगेऽतीत[22]शकवत्सराः कलेन्दुमिताः ।।११६।। अनन्तरमेतत्पुत्रस्त्रिभुवनदेवनामा राज्यं शशास[23] । अयं वराटकानां गण्डा-काकिणी-पण-द्रम्मा[24]दीनां विभागं[25] कल्पितवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालस्त्रिचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि ।।४३।। एतद्योगे गत-[26] शकाब्दाः ऊनषष्ट्यधिकशतम् ।।१५९।। तत एतत्पुत्रो निर्मलदेवनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेन सिन्धुदेशादागतम्लेच्छैर्युद्धं कृत्वा पराजयं प्राप्यापगतम् । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि । एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः वेद[27]नखमिताः ।।२०४।।[28] एतत्पुत्रो भीमदेवनामा राजा बभूव । अनेनापि बहु-

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18. The word आश्चर्य is missing in M.
19. This word is omitted in M.
20. °वन्तमेव M.
21. °यमन° L.
22. M reads ततः for अतीत)
23. सनानो (?) M.
24. °द्रव्यादीनां M.
25. विभावनं M.
26. This word is omitted in L.
27. M reads एतन्नखमिताः
28. Both the MSS agree here in not starting the sentence with अनन्तरम् ।

देशभ्रमणं कृतं, राज्ञो जित्वा राज्यानि गृहीतानि। अस्य राज्य-भोगकालः सप्तत्रिंशद्वत्सराः ॥३७॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः एक-चत्वारिंशदधिकशतद्वयम् ॥२४१॥

३. अनन्तरं शोभनदेवनामा राजा राज्यं चकार। अस्य राज्य-कालावसरे पोतमारुह्य[२९] हस्त्यश्वादिसेनया[३०] सह रक्तबाहु-नामकम्लेच्छाधिपेन समुद्रमार्गेणागत्य कनकाख्यराज्यसीम्नि[३१] समुद्रतीरम् उत्तीर्णम्[३२]। समुद्रमध्ये आगमनसमये हस्त्यश्व-पुरीषादिकं[३३] श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे स्वर्गद्वारसंज्ञे[३४] लवणोदवेलायां लग्नं दृष्ट्वा राज्ञाऽमात्यादिभिर्मन्त्रयित्वा भगवतो नीलाद्रि-नायकस्य श्रीमूर्तिं सुवर्णपुरनामकराज्यस्थ-गोपलीनाम्नि[३५] ग्रामे भूम्यन्तःपाषाणनिर्मितसुधालिप्तगृहे[३६] स्थापयित्वा तदुपरि मृत्तिकादि[३७] दत्त्वा वटवृक्षारोपणं[३८] कृतम्। सेवकैः[३९]देशा-न्तरे गतम्। राज्ञापि अरण्यमध्ये प्रविष्टम्। अनन्तरं रक्तबाहु-नामधेयेन श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रमागत्य प्रासादं शून्यं दृष्ट्वा विचारितम्[४०]—मदागमनं समुद्रेणैव कथितमिति मत्वा तदुपरि गुण्डनामकाग्नेयास्त्र[४१]निक्षेपः कृतः। तदा समुद्रेण वेलां त्यक्त्वा क्रोशद्वयमन्तर्गतम्। पलायितमिति मत्वा[४३]ऽसौ सैन्येनान्तः[४४] प्रविष्टः। तदा समुद्रेण जलप्रवाहेण परितः परिखीकृत्य[४५] तरंगेण सगणो रक्तवाहुर्व्यापादितः।[४६] जलप्रवाहस्तु दश-पलाख्य[४७]राज्यपर्यन्तं गतः। तत एव परावृत्यागमनसमये जल-प्रवाहवेगेन परिधिक्रमेण दशयोजनविस्तारेण खातो[४८]जातः।

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29. पूतमारुह्यो M.
30. भ्रस्तिस्वादिशेनया M.
31. राज्यसीम्नि L., राज्यसीम M.
32. समुद्रतीरे ML. उत्तीर्णे L.
33. हस्तिष्वरुषादिकम M.
34. सन्ने M.
35. °नायको राज्यस्तु गोपुरे नाम्नि M.
36. सुधाविग्रहे M.
37. both M. and L. read मूर्तिकादि which is a certain corruption of मृत्तिकादि (Oriya r = ru)
38. वृक्षरूपणम् M.
39. शैवके M.
40. ईरितुं M.
41. नामको ज्ञेयास्त्र M.
42. पुरुषद्वय M.
43. गत्वा M.
44. °सो सैवोनान्तः M.
45. परितो परीक्षीकृत्वा M.
46. व्यापारितः M.
47. दशफला° M.
48. भातो जाता M.

तस्य नाम चिल्लिकेति[49] लोके प्रसिद्धम् । राजाप्यरण्यमध्ये कालधर्ममुपगतः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः चत्वारि वर्षाणि । एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः पञ्चचत्वारिंशधिकशतद्वयमिताः ।।२४५।।

४. A. अनन्तरं चन्द्रदेवो नाम राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । पुनरपि डिल्ली-नगराद् यवनै[50]रागत्य सामाद्युपायेन विश्वासमुत्पाद्य राजानमरण्यमध्यमानीय उपायाद् दशमीमवस्थां प्रापितः ।[51] एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चवर्षाणि ।।५।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः सार्द्धशतद्वयम् ।।२५०।।

B. इतः परं यवनभोग्यो जातोऽयं देशः । तदानीं ब्राह्मणादयः प्रायेण देशान्तरं गताः । श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रमुत्सन्नप्रायं[52] जातम् । यवनानां राज्यभोगकालः षट्चत्वारिंशदधिकशतं वर्षाणि ।।१४६।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः रसाङ्कवह्नयः ।।३९६।। सुवर्णपुरग्रामस्थगोपलीग्रामे श्रीमूर्त्तेः स्थितिः द्विनवत्यधिकशतं वर्षाणि ।।१९२।।

|| अथ केशरीवंशीया राजानः ||

५. A. अतः परं केशरीवंशीयाः षट्त्रिंशद् राजानः । अत्र पारंपर्येण इयं कथा[53] । धवलगिरौ बहिरंगेश्वर[54] इति महादेवोऽस्ति । तत्रैका विधवा ब्राह्मणी परमेश्वराराधनं कृत्वा प्रत्यहं पृथिवीपालनीक्षमं राजवंशकरं पुत्रं प्रार्थयति । एकदा भगवानीश्वरस्तुष्टस्तया[55] सह रेमे । रतान्तरं वरं ब्रूहीत्युक्तवान् । तयोक्तं यदि तुष्टोऽसि, राज्यकरं पुत्रं देहीति । तदेश्वरेणाज्ञापितम्—

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49. जल्केति M. (जलिका> चिलका ?)

50. नगरादमनै M; Written नगराद्यवनैः in L which is correct but simplified here by Ed.

51. This sentence is mutilated towards end (from राजा ...to प्रापितः) in MS M which reads : राजा दरण्य मानि पायान्त दमि अम प्राप्तः । The MS L has मध्यादानीय for मध्यमानीय and उपायांत for उपायात् which have been restored by Ed.

52. °क्षेत्रोत्पन्नप्रायं M., °क्षेत्रमुच्छन्नप्रायं L. The reading उच्छन्न stands for उत्सन्न because the combination त्स is pronouneed in Oriya as च्छ ।

53. °णायं गतः M.

54. भैरंगेश्वर M.

55. ईश्वरस्तटस्थतया रेमे M.

त्वदीयप्रासादपश्चिमभागे[५६] पक्वकदलीफलानि सन्ति। यावन्ति-फलानि भोक्तव्यानि[५७] तावन्तः पुत्रपौत्रादिक्रमेण राजवंशकरा भविष्यन्तीति। तया तथाऽऽचरितम्। षट्त्रिंशत्कदलीफलानि भुक्तानि। तावन्त एव राजपुरुषा जाताः[५८]।

B. तत्र प्रथमोत्पन्न (:) जजातकेसरिनामा[५९] बभूव। तं दृष्ट्वा तत्रत्यलोकैरुक्त[६०] तन्मातरं प्रति—त्वं तु विधवा। केन संगेनायं पुत्र उत्पन्न इति? तयोक्तम्—अत्र प्रासादे कोऽस्ति?[६१] तैल-संगेनेति दर्शयित्वा विज्ञापितम्। तदानीमीश्वरस्तां गृहीत्वा शक्त्यन्तः प्रविष्टः।[६२] तत्रत्यजनान् आकाशवाण्या[६३] आज्ञा जाता—अयं राजा भविष्यतीति। तत्रत्यलोकैः याजपुरक्षेत्रस्थ-प्राचीनराजधानीं प्रति नीतः। कतिकालानन्तरमीश्वर[६४]प्रसादा-दयं राजाभवद् इति प्राचीना कथा।

६. याजपुरक्षेत्रे ययातिकेशरिणा[६५] राजत्वं प्राप्तम्। अस्य प्रथमा-वसरे यवनै[६६] राज्यं त्यक्त्वाऽपगतम्[६७]। तदानीं[६८] राजानं प्रति तत्रत्यब्राह्मणैरुक्तम्—भो राजन् बहुकालेन श्रीपुरुषोत्तम-क्षेत्रे दक्षिणमहोदधौ गोविन्दद्वादशीनामक-स्नान[६९]योग-मायाति। तदाकर्ण्य[७०] राजा ब्राह्मणैः सह श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रमा-गतवान्। फाल्गुनशुक्लद्वादश्यां गोविन्दद्वादशीनामकयोगे समुद्रे स्नात्वा बहूनि दानपुण्यादीनि कृतवान्। अनन्तरं क्षेत्र-मुत्सन्न[७१]प्रायं दृष्ट्वा प्रासादं भग्नं च दृष्ट्वा संन्यासि-ब्राह्मणादीन् पृष्टवान्—अहो प्रासादस्तु भग्नप्रायः। भगवतः

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56. पश्चिमाभिमभोगे M.
57. भुक्त्वा M.
58. दातारः M.
59. °न्नाम्बुजातकेसरीनाम M.
60. लोकैर्युक्त M.
61. This sentence appears in M. as: तमोगतमन्त्रप्रसादे नास्ति।
62. शक्त्यन्तं प्रविष्टवान् L.
63. This portion is corrupt and slightly mutilated in MS M. which reads बाहले (°वान्। ?) तत्रत्य जनाने आक····।
64. कतिकोलावन्तरनीश्वर° M.
65. केशरीणां M.
66. यशी M. प्रथमवत्सरे यवनै ?
67. संगतम् M.
68. स्थानं M.
69. स्थान° M.
70. तथाकन्नो M.
71. उत्पन्न° M.

श्रीमूर्त्तिः कुत्र स्थापितेति ? तदाकर्ण्य[७२] तैरुक्तम्—यदा रक्तबाहुनामकेनागतं तदारभ्य इतो नीत्वा सुवर्णपुरराज्ये कुत्र [-चित्] स्थापितेति पारम्पर्येण[७३] श्रूयते। तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा तत्र गतवान्। गत्वा तत्रत्यजनानाहूय पृष्टवान्—भो कुत्र श्रीजगन्नाथप्रतिमा स्थापिता श्रुतेति ? तैरुक्तं—नास्माभिः श्रुतेति। अनन्तरं खण्डाधिपानाहूय पृष्टं—कुत्र स्थले श्रीजगन्नाथमूर्तिस्थापनं श्रुत[७४]मिति ? तैरुक्तम्—इदमस्माकमगोचरमिति। किन्तु अस्मत्पितामहाद्यैरुक्तं—गोपलीग्रामे श्रीमूर्तिरस्तीति श्रूयते[७५]। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा तत्र गतम्। गत्वा तत्रत्यजनानाहूय पृष्टं—भो कुत्र श्रीमूर्तिस्थापनं श्रुतमिति ? तैरुक्तं—नास्माभिः श्रुतमिति। तदाकर्ण्य[७६] श्रीमूर्तिदर्शननिराशेन दुःखितेनोपोष्य शयितम्[७७]। तदा रात्रौ स्वप्नादेशो जातः—भो राजन्, श्वस्त्वया[७८] पुष्करिणीतटे स्थेयम्। तत्रैका वृद्धा स्नानार्थमागमिष्यति, सा प्रष्टव्येति। राज्ञा तथाऽऽचरितम्। प्रातःकाले स्नानार्थमेका वृद्धा आगता। पुष्करिण्यां स्नात्वा तदुपरिभागे वटवृक्षे शिरसा वन्दनं कृतवती[७९]। तद् दृष्ट्वा राज्ञोक्तं—वृक्षवन्दनं किमर्थं कृतमिति ? तयोक्तं—मदीयपितामहेनोक्तम् 'एतद्वृक्षाधः[८०] श्रीपुरुषोत्तमादानीय[८१] श्रीजगन्नाथमूर्त्तिः स्थापितेति'। अतः कारणादिह मया प्रत्यहं वन्दनं क्रियत इति। तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा तत्र आरण्यकर्त्तरिहस्तब्राह्मणानाहूय वटवृक्षं छेदयित्वा खननं[८२] कारयामास। अनन्तरं सुधालिप्त[८३] गर्भगृहे भगवतः श्रीमूर्तिचतुष्टयं दृष्ट्वा मुमुदे। ततः प्रतिमानयनार्थं राज्ञा सेवकान्वेषणं कृतम्। तथा कृते सेवका न मिलिताः। ततो राज्ञा भगवति विज्ञाप्य रात्रावुपोष्य शयितम्। तदा स्वप्नादेशो जातः—एकां गामानीय[८४] स्वर्णरत्नखचितां कृत्वा देशमध्ये भ्राम्यताम्[८५]। 'इमां ह्िंसयित्वा रत्नादिकं गृह्णाता-

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72 तथाकर्णं M.

73. पारस्वरेण M. (Oriya म्प could be misread as स्व)

74 सुतमिति M.

75 श्रुतये M

76. तथाकन्ये M.

77. °पोष्ये सहितम् M.

78. नस्त्वया M.

79. कृतमिति M.

80. एतत्वृक्षादो M.

81. श्रीपुरुषोत्तजानियोः (?) M.

82. खगसं M.

83. °लिप्तो (Oriya pronunciation !) M

84. °गामानयोः M.

85. ब्रूम्यताम् M.

मि'ति डिण्डिम[86]शब्दः क्रियताम्। यो वदिष्यति 'कर्मेदमहं[87] करोमी'ति स सेवको ज्ञेयः। तदीयहस्तेन मदीयगमनं भविष्यतीति। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा तथा कारितम्। गोभ्रमणकारकैरुक्तम्[88] 'इमां हिंसयित्वा रत्नादिग्रहणं यो करिष्यति, करोत्वि'ति[89] पटहो दापितः। तदानीं वालुखेला[90]सक्तेन द्वादशवार्षिकबालकेन श्रुत्वा मातुरग्रे उक्तम्—हे मातः, उत्कलदेशाधिपराजपतिना भगवन्नयनार्थमागत्य रत्नखचितगोभ्रमणं क्रियते, उच्यते[91] च 'क इमां हिंसयित्वा ग्रहीष्यतीति'। तन्मात्रोक्तम् – वत्स त्वयोच्यतां[92] 'कर्मेदं मया कर्त्तव्य'मिति। तेन गत्वा मार्गे तथोक्तम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा गोरक्षकै राज्ञोऽग्रे[93] उक्तम्। राज्ञोक्तम् –स आनीयतामिति। तैर्गत्वा समातृको बालको राज्ञोऽग्रे दर्शितः। राज्ञोक्तम्—कर्मेदं कर्तुं शक्यते? तेनोक्तम्—मदीयपितृपितामहाद्यैरिदं कर्म क्रियत एव[94]। राज्ञोक्तम्—त्वयाऽत्र[95] स्थितम्, अन्ये सेवकाः क्व[96] गता? इति। तच्छ्रुत्वा तन्मात्रोक्तम्—एतद्राज्यस्थ वारिदन्थकग्रामे सन्तीति श्रूयते। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा तत्र भृत्यः प्रेषितः[97]। तेन[98]गत्वा तत्र ग्रामेऽन्वेषितम्। तत्र पञ्च सेवकाः स्थिताः, आनीताः[99]। अनन्तरं कालवशेन[100]अतिजीर्णं श्रीभगवद्[101]विग्रहचतुष्टयं पट्टवस्त्रादिना वेष्टयित्वा विद्यापतिवंशीयेन[102] विश्वावसुकुलोत्पन्नैश्च[103] तत्रत्यारण्यकर्त्तरिहस्तब्राह्मणैः, संभूय एकादशभिः, शिविकायामारोप्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रं प्रति आनीतम्।

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86. दण्डिम M.
87. कर्मेतरमहं M.
88. °कारिकैर्युक्तम् M.
89. करोतीति M.
90. वालकला° M.
91. ऊचते M.
92. वचस्त्वया च तां M. (वत्स = Oriya वच्छस)
93. राजाग्रे, corrected into राज्याग्रे M.
94. क्रियतव, later corrected into क्रतवः M.
95. त्रयोऽत्र M.
96. को (for क्व)
97. प्रेष्यतः M.
98. ते (for तेन) L
99. the word ग्रानीताः is dropped in M.
100. °वनेना° M.
101. भगवन्तः (i.e. भगवतः, without samasa)
102. °वंशेन M.
103. कुलोत्पन्ने खो (खो = श्च)

७. अनन्तरं क्षेत्रस्थसंन्यासिब्राह्मणादीन् पृष्ट्वा[104] यथाविधि वनयागविधिना अरण्यमध्याद् दारूण्यादाय[105] श्रीमूर्तिघटना कारिता। घटनासमये संपाद्याधिकसेवका आनीताः। तत्र विद्यापति[106a]विश्वावसुवंशीयाः षट्, विश्वकर्मवंशीयास्त्रयः,[107] अरण्यकर्त्तरिहस्तब्राह्मणाः पञ्च, संभूय चतुर्दशभिः सेवकैः श्रीमूर्तिनिर्माणं कारितम्। पश्चारण्यकर्तरिहस्तब्राह्मणाः वत्स[108]सगोत्राः, विद्यापति[106b]वंशीयाः कौण्डिन्यसगोत्राः, शबरवंशीयाः दयिता[109]शब्दवाच्या कौशिकसगोत्राः। एवं-निर्मितमूर्त्तिचतुष्टयं शंखनाभिमध्ये वटमूले पञ्चशिरोनामक-बन्धप्रासादे स्थापितवान्। राजा तत्रत्यसंन्यासिब्राह्मणा-दीनाहूय[110] 'भगवतो यथाशास्त्रमन्नादिकं निवेद्यता[111]मि'ति [उक्तवान्]। तैरुक्तम्—भगवदाज्ञया[112] भविष्यतीति। ततो राजा संपाद्य प्राक्तन[113]सेवकान् कौत्ससगोत्रान् सप्त आनीय, अरण्यकर्तरिहस्तब्राह्मणाः षट् च, संभूय त्रयोदशसेवकाः; तन्मध्ये[114] पण्डासंज्ञकाः[115] त्रयः, गराबडुसंज्ञक एकः, सूपकार-बडुश्चान्यः, पात्रिबडुसंज्ञकोऽपरः, वस्त्रालंकारकोषरक्षक एकः, पाचकाः सूपकाराभिधाः[116] षट्—एवं संभूय त्रयोदश ब्राह्मण-सेवकाः ।।

८. तद्दिने राज्ञा विधिपूर्वमन्नादिनैवेद्यं पाचयित्वा[117] भगवन्निवेदनं कारयित्वा तन्महाप्रसादादिकं संन्यासिब्राह्मणेभ्यः 'सेव्यताम्' इत्युक्तम्। तद्दिने महाप्रसादादिकमस्वीकृत्य[118] तैर्गतम्। तदा राज्ञा ईश्वरे विज्ञाप्य[119] निराहारेण शयितम्[120]। रात्रौ

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104. पृष्टः M, पृष्ट L.
105. दारुणादयः M.
106. विद्यावती M.
107. °यास्त्रियः, M.
108. ब्राह्मवत्र्यंस°, M.
109. द्वैता M.
110. °दीनां पूजो, M
111. निवेदितां M.
112. भगववाज्ञेयं, M
113. °द्या प्रार्थन°, M.
114. तनुमध्ये M.
115. पण्डा सम्यकाः, M.
116. °भिदः, M.
117. वाचयित्वा, M.
118. वशीकृत्य, M.
119. विज्ञापो M.
120. नैतम्, M.

स्वप्नादेशो[१२१] जातः—श्वस्तथैवान्न[१२२]निवेद्यादिकं कृत्वा सविनयं यथा तथा संन्यासिब्राह्मणानाहूय[१२३] 'इदं भुज्यताम्' इत्युच्यताम्। यदि तैर्नाङ्गीक्रियते[१२४] तदा मयाऽऽज्ञा देयेति। इत्थं स्वप्नादेशेनापरदिने[१२५] पूर्ववद् अन्नादिनैवेद्यं कारयित्वा संन्यासिप्रभृतीनाहूय[१२६] उक्तम्—रात्रौ स्वप्नादेशो जातः, महाप्रसादो भुज्यतामिति। तैः संभूयोक्तम्—यद्यस्माना-[१२७] ज्ञापयिष्यति देवस्तदास्माभिर्भोक्तव्यमिति। सत्ययुगे इन्द्र-द्युम्नाय साक्षात्[१२८] श्रीमुखेनाज्ञा दत्ता[१२९] 'द्वादशयात्रा क्रियतामि'ति[१३०]। तद्वदस्माकं यद्याज्ञा[१३१] दीयते तदा भोक्त-व्यमिति।

९. एवं संवादसमये एको मूकब्राह्मणो भगवद्दर्शनार्थं[१३२]आगतवान्। तं दृष्ट्वा संन्यासिप्रभृतयो[१३३] राजानमूचुः—अनेन मूकेन महाप्रसादसेवनं क्रियतामिति। यदि वक्तव्यं, तदास्माभिः स्वीकर्त्तव्यमिति सम्मतिं कृत्वा[१३४] राजाज्ञया मूकं[१३५] श्रीमहाप्रसादसमीपे उपवेश्यास्य माहात्म्यं वक्तव्यमित्युक्तम्। तदा मूकमुखादयं[१३६] श्लोको निर्गतः—

अरे विद्वन्मन्या, अनधिगतवेदार्थनिगमा,
मया भुक्तेऽप्यन्ते (°न्ने) मम परिजनैः शप्तमनुजैः।
सुसिद्धे ह्येतस्मिन् न भवत भवन्तो बहुघृणा
न गंगाम्भः पेयं शवतनुगलत्क्रव्यकलितम्[१३७] ? ।।

इत्युक्त्वा यथापूर्वं मूकेन स्थितम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा सर्वे[१३८] हरि-

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121. सप्रवेशे, M.
122. सस्तथैव··· M.
123. ब्राह्मणानाहुः M.
124. तेनाङ्गी क्रियते M.
125. °देशेन पक्षदिने M.
126. संन्यासि प्रभुरिति नाहूय, M.
127. यदिस्मान् L. °स्मान्ना° M.
128. इन्द्रद्युम्नयस्साक्षात् M.
129. श्रीमुखो आज्ञां दत्त्वा M.
130. द्वादशी यात्रा नाज्ञापयति M. Read द्वादशयात्राः क्रियन्ता मिति।
131. तत् वद अस्माकम् यत्। यदाज्ञा, M.
132. भगवद्दर्शनम्°।
133. °प्रभुरुक्तः।
134. स्वीकृत्वा (for सम्मतिं कृत्वा)।
135. मुक्तं L.
136. मुखात् द्वय°।
137. This verse is completely missing in MS M.
138. Read सर्वः।

शब्दोच्चारणं कृत्वा, महाप्रसादसेवनं कृत्वा शिरसि हस्त-प्रोञ्छनं[139] कृतम् । अनन्तरं राज्ञा अष्टत्रिंशद्धस्तोच्छ्राये[140] प्रासादं निर्माय प्रतिष्ठां कृत्वा तत्र श्रीमूर्तिस्थापनं कृतम् । अतः परं श्री विमलादेव्याः प्रासादः कारितः[141] । ततः परं श्रीभुवनेश्वरक्षेत्रे श्रीलिंगराजस्य प्रासादार्थं शुभं दत्तम् । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः द्विपञ्चाशद्वर्षाणि ।।५२।। एतद्योगेऽतीत-शकाब्दाः अष्टचत्वारिंशच्चतुःशतम् ।।४४८।।

१०. अतः परमेतत्पुत्रः सूर्यकेशरिनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेनाप्यारब्ध[142A]लिंगराजप्रासादघटनायां व्यवसितम्[143] । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तपञ्चाशद्वर्षाणि ।।५७।। एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः पञ्चाधिकपञ्चशतानि ।।५०५।।

११. अनन्तरमेतत्पुत्रोऽनन्तकेशरिनामा राजाभवत्[144A] । अनेनापि पूर्वारब्ध[142B]लिंगराजघटनाविषये प्रयत्नः कृतः । अस्य राज्य-भोगकालः चत्वारिंशद्वत्सराः ।।४०।। एतद्योगे गतशकवर्षाणि पञ्चचत्वारिंशदधिकपञ्चशतानि ।।५४५।।

१२. तत एतत्पुत्रो ललाटकेशरिनामा राजाभवत्[144B] । अनेनापि आरब्धलिंगराजप्रासादघटनां समाप्य प्रतिष्ठा कारिता । तत्क्षेत्रे सप्तशालिकारूपेण वसतिः कारिता । अतो[145] भगवतः एकाम्र[146]पुराणोक्तचतुर्दशयात्रामहोत्सवः कारितः । प्रासाद-घटनासमाप्तौ गतशकाब्दाः ।।५८८।।

अत एवोक्तम्—

गजाष्टेषु[147]मिते याते शकाब्दे कृत्तिवाससः ।
प्रासादं कारयामास ललाटादिश्च[148] केशरी ।।

एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः चतुःपञ्चाशद्वर्षाणि ।।५४।। एतद्योगेऽतीत-शकाब्दाः नवनवेषुमिताः ।।५९९।।

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139. प्रोचनं M.
140. Read °च्छ्रायं ।
141. प्रासादं कारितम् M.
142. आलब्ध° M.
143. व्यवस्थितम् M.
144. राजा भवति M.
145. The word is missing in MS L. One has to read probably ततो ।
146. एकांबर M.
147. गजा अष्टसु M.
148. ललाटादींश्च M.

१३. अनन्तरं कनककेशरिसंज्ञो राजाभवत्[149]। एतद्राज्यावसरे श्रीभुवनेश्वरक्षेत्रे कनकमय[150]वृष्टिर्जाता। तत्रत्यनागरै-[151]स्तेनद्रव्यजातेन[152] लिंगानां प्रासादपंक्तयः कारिताः। तस्य राज्यभोगकालः विंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२०॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः नवेन्दुषण्मिताः ॥६१९॥

१४. अनन्तरं नरकेशरिसंज्ञको राजाभवत्। असौ विष्णुपरायणः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः द्वादशवर्षाणि ॥१२॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराश्चन्द्राग्निकालमिताः ॥६३१॥

१५. ततः परं पद्मकेशरिसंज्ञको[153] राजा राज्यं शशास[154]। अनेनातिशूरेणानेकराजविजयेन[155] राज्यानि गृहीतानि। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशवत्सराः ॥१०॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः एकचत्वारिंशदधिकषट्शतानि ॥६४१॥

१६. अथानन्तरं वृद्धकेशरिनामा राज्यं कृतवान्। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशवर्षाणि ॥१५॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः रसेषुरसमिताः ॥६५६॥

१७. तदनन्तरं वटुकेश्वरदेवनामा राजाभवत्। तस्य राज्यभोगकालः एकादशवर्षाणि ॥११॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः सप्ताङ्गकालमिताः ॥६६७॥

१८. अतः परं गजकेशरिनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान्। अनेन कर्षकेभ्यो वाटिका[156]मितभूमेः पञ्चकार्षापणमितकरो[157] गृहीतः[158]। एतद्राज्यकालस्य पञ्चमवर्षे श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे कार्त्तिकशुक्लदशम्यां पूजानन्तरं भगवतो दर्शनानन्तरं 'भगवतो वन्दापनादर्शनं कर्तव्यं, शीघ्रं पूजा समाप्यतामि'ति[159] पूजाकारिणां सेवकानां निकटे लोकः प्रेषितः[160]। तेन गत्वा तथोक्तम्। श्रुत्वा पूजकैस्तथाऽऽचरितम्। धूपदीपदानानन्तरं नैवेद्यदानाव-

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149. भवतु M.
150. °मप° L.
151. °नागरी° M.
152. °दातेन M.
153. संयको M.
154. चकार M.
155. विजयनो M.
156. कर्षकेभ्यश्चाटुका° M.
157. पञ्चकार्षण M., पञ्चपण L.
158. करा गृहीताः M.
159. समाप्तताम् M.
160. निकटलोकप्रेषिताः M.

सरे अन्तर्दृष्ट्वा [?] अदृश्यमाने[161] भगवति जलचलुकं नोत्सृज्यत इति हेतोः पूजाविलम्बं दृष्ट्वा राजा क्रुद्धो बभूव। क्रुद्धं राजानं दृष्ट्वा पूजकैरुक्तम्—नैवेद्यदानावसरे यदीश्वरदर्शनं भवति तदा जलचलूत्सर्जनं क्रियते, नान्यथा। राज्ञो[162]क्तम्—ऽत्यहं युष्माभिरीश्वरो दृश्यते ? तैरुक्तम्-अथ किम्[163]। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा पूजकानां कारागृहनिवेशनं कारितम्। तदा रात्रौ स्वप्नादेशो जातः—राजन् समुद्रतीरे मम भक्ताभिः षट्[164] विधवाब्राह्मणीभिर्लीलया दामोदर[165]पूजा क्रियते। मया तत्रैव स्थितम्। तस्मात् पूजकानां दर्शनं न जातम्[166]। पूजायां विलम्बो जातः। पूजका निरपराधिनस्त्याज्या इति। एतत्स्वप्नादेशं श्रुत्वा राजा पूजकानां बहुमानपुरस्सरं विसर्जनं कृतवान्। अपरदिनादारभ्य बालधूपसंज्ञकं[167A] पञ्चोपचारपूजानन्तरं कारितम्। तत्र धूपदानान्तरं दीपदानावसरे राज्ञोक्तम्—उत्थितैर्दीपो दीयतामिति। पूजकैस्तथा कृतम्। तदारभ्य प्रातर्धूपसंज्ञक[167B] पूजनानन्तरं बालधूपपूजकं [नं ?] जातम्। तदारभ्य उत्थाय वन्दापनं[168] जातम्। एतस्य राज्ञो राज्यभोगकालः द्वादशवर्षाणि ॥१२॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः ऊनाशीत्यधिकषट्शतानि ॥६७९॥

१९. अनन्तरं वसन्तकेशरिसंज्ञको राजा राज्यं कृतवान्। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः वर्षद्वयम् ॥२॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः चन्द्रनागरसमिताः ॥६८१॥

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161. अन्तर्दृष्ट्वामदृश्यमाने L. अन्तर्दृष्ट्वा मदृक्ष्यमाणे M.। The text poses some difficulty here. The presence of the letter म, supported by both the MSS, rather indicates towords the existence of an adverbial compound (e. g. अन्तर्हस्तम् etc.) or a Locative ending on °याम् (e. g. अन्तर्वेद्याम् or so). This text corruption was, however, existent in the common source of both the MSS.

162. राजोक्तम् M.

163. अधिकम् M.

164. This word is missing in L.

165 वामोदपूजा L.

166 यातम् L.

167. °सम्यक्° M.

168. बुद्दापनं M.

२०. अतः परं गोपकेशरिराजा राज्यं कृतवान् । असौ धार्मिकः[169] । पुत्रवत् प्रजाः पालिताः[170] । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तदश-वर्षाणि ॥१७॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वसुरन्ध्ररसमिताः ॥६९८॥

२१. अनन्तरं भरतकेशरिसंज्ञको[171] राजाभवत् । अनेन दक्षिण-दिग्विजयः कृतः । अस्य राज्यस्य भोगकालः विंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२०॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः वसुचन्द्राश्वमिताः ॥७१८॥

२२. अतः परं कवि[172]केशरिनामा राजाभवत् । अनेन दक्षिण-दिग्विजयः कृतः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः एक विंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः नववह्निनगमिताः ॥७३९॥

२३. अनन्तरं कामकेशरिनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेन धर्म-परायणेन बहु धनं व्ययितं[173], दानपुण्यानि कृतानि । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः ऊनविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥१९॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशक-वत्सराः गजेषुमहीधरमिताः ॥७५८॥

२४. अतः परं कोशल[174]केशरिनामा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेन मार्कण्डेयेश्वरस्य प्रासादः कारितः । तदीयसरसः परितः पाषाणनिर्मितभित्तिबन्धनं[175] कारितम् । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः द्वाविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२२॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः अशीत्यधिक-सप्तशतानि ॥७८०॥

२५. तदनन्तरं चण्डकेशरिसंज्ञको राजाभवत् । अयं मन्त्राराधनेन सर्वज्ञतामाप । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः एकविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः चन्द्रखेभ[176]मिताः ॥८०१॥

२६. अनन्तरं प्रचण्डकेशरिसंज्ञको[177] राजाभवत् । अयमतीव प्रताप-वान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः ऊनविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥१९॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः नखेभमिताः[179] ॥८२०॥

२७. अथानन्तरं ध्रुव[180]केशरिसंज्ञो राजा बभूव । असौ दानी मानी

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169. दाधिकः M.
170. पालिकाः M.
171. संयको M.
172. कलि° M.
173. व्ययतं M.
174. कोसल-केसरी M.
175. °बन्दनं M.
176. चन्द्रवेभ° M.
177. संयको M.
178. राजा भवति M.
179. नभेभविताः M.
180. ध्रुव L. (ऋ. has the value of *ru* in Oriya)

अष्टावधानी[181] चाभवत् । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशवत्सराः ॥१०॥ एतद्योगे भुक्ताः शकाब्दाः त्रिंशदधिकाष्टशतानि ॥८३०॥

२८. अनन्तरं विजयकेशरिसंज्ञको [राजा] अभवत् । असावतीव चतुरो[182] दयावान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशवर्षाणि ॥१५॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः शराब्धिवसुमिताः ॥८४५॥

२९. तदनन्तरं चण्डपाल[183] केशरिनामा राजा बभूव । अयं धर्मशीलो दानादिना[184] बहुधनं दापितवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः अष्टादशवर्षाणि ॥१८॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः रामरसवसवः ॥८६३॥

३०. अनन्तरं मधुसूदनकेशरिसंज्ञो[185] राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेनातीव[186] दुष्टाचरणं कृतम् । प्रजाः पीडिताः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः षोडशवत्सराः ॥१६॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः नवनगाष्टमिताः ॥८७९॥

३१. अनन्तरं धर्मकेशरिनामा राजा बभूव । असौ विद्वान् पण्डितो[187] धार्मिकश्च[188] । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशवर्षाणि ॥१०॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः नवाष्टवसवः ॥८८९॥

३२. अतः परं जयकेशरिनामा राज्यं शशास । असौ वैष्णवो जातः ।[189] एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः एकादशवर्षाणि ॥११॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः खखनन्द[190]मिताः ॥९००॥

३३. अनन्तरं नृपकेशरिसंज्ञो राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । असौ बहून् राज्ञो जित्वा[191] राज्यानि गृहीतवान् । महानदीमध्ये कटकनामनगरम् । तदन्तर्गतं[192] द्वादशवाटिका[193]नाम दुर्गं च कारितवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशवर्षाणि ॥१५॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः पञ्चदशाधिकनवशतानि ॥९१५॥

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181. अष्टा अवु धानि च भवतु M.
182. सूरो M.
183. चण्डसाल° M.
184. दानादीन् M.
185. °संयको M.
186. अनाना आतव M.
187. विद्यापण्डितो° M.
188. धार्मिकस्य M.
189. दाता (Tamilism !)
190. कोखनन्द° ।
191. बहूनि राज्यानि कृत्वा M.
192. तदनन्तर्गत L. तदनन्तरं M.
193. °बोदुका° M.

३४. एतदनन्तरं मरकतकेशरीनामा राजाभवत्। अनेनातीव दुष्टाचरणं चरितम्। कटकनामकनगरे नालबाग-[194]इति प्रसिद्धं राजव्यावहारिकं[195] दुर्गं कारितम्। एतच्छलेन[196] नरसिंह[197]रायेण राज्ञोऽग्रे[198] उक्तम्—महती कीर्त्तिः कृतेति। तेनोक्तम्—त्वया किञ्चित् क्रियतामिति। नृसिंहरायेणोक्तम्—यदि किञ्चिद् ऋणं[199] देयं तदा क्रियत इति। तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा[200A] धनं दत्त्वा दिग्विजयार्थं गतः। तेन तद्धनेन धवल[201]गिरौ देवालयं निर्माय राज्ञे[200B] दर्शितम्। तद् दृष्ट्वा राजा 'गांडियाभाँड'[202] इति पदं दत्तवान्। तदारभ्य एतन्नाम्ना पर्वतोऽपि लोके ख्यातः। तच्छ्रुत्वा तेनातीव लज्जितम्। अनन्तरमेतन्नरसिंहरायेन कटकनगरं परितः[203] पाषाणमयसोपानबन्धनं कारितम्। तद्दृष्ट्वा राजातीव संतुष्टो जातः। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः चतुर्दशवर्षाणि ॥१४॥ एतद्योगे अतीतशकाब्दाः नवाक्षि[204]रन्ध्रमिताः ॥९२९॥

३५. अतः परं त्रिपुरकेशरिनामा राजाभवत्। अनेन विष्णुपरायणेन कालो नीतः[205]। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशवर्षाणि ॥१०॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः गोऽग्निनन्दमिताः ॥९३९॥

३६. अतः परं माधवकेशरिसंज्ञो[206] राजा बभूव। अनेनापि प्रतापवता श्वेतगंगासमीपे मत्स्यमाधवनामकः शिवस्य[207]प्रासादः कारितः। कटकनिकटे सारंगगढ[208] इति दुर्गनिवेशनं कारितम्। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः द्वादशवर्षाणि ॥१२॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवर्षाणि एकपञ्चाशदधिकनवशतानि ॥९५१॥

३७. अनन्तरं गोविन्दकेशरिनाम राजा बभूव। असौ धार्मिकः।

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194. लालभोग M
195. नामव्यावहारिकं M.
196. एतत् सालेन M.
197. नरसिंग° M.
198. राज्याग्रे।
199. तृणं M. (किञ्चित् तृणं < किञ्चिदृणं)।
200A राज्ञा M.L., B राज्ञा M.
201. धव (for धवल) L
202. गंडीय बोड्डु-बोंड M
203. परिपालितं M.
204. नवाख्य° M
205. कालोचित M.
206. °संयको M.
207. °नामकशिवस्य° L M.
208. सारंगगड M.

पुत्रवत् प्रजाः पालितवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशवर्षाणि ।।१०।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः चन्द्रांग[209]रन्ध्रमिताः ।।९६१।।

३८. अतः परं नृत्यकेशरिसंज्ञो राजा राज्यं शशास । एतेनातिधार्मिकेण बहूनि दानपुण्यानि कृतानि । प्रजाः सम्यक् पालिताः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः षोडशवर्षाणि ।।१६।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः नगागनवमिताः[210] ।।९७७।।

३९. अतः परं नरसिंह[211]केशरिनामा राजा राज्यं चकार । अनेनापि प्रतापवता विपक्षराजानो जिताः[212] । बालुअन्ता[213]नामकग्रामे प्रस्तरमयदुर्गविशेषो रचितः[214] । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तदशवर्षाणि ।।१७।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः चतुर्नवत्यधिकनवशतानि ।।९९४।।

४०. ततोऽनन्तरं कृपाकेशरिनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः दशवर्षाणि ।।१०।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः वेदखखेन्दवः[215] ।।१००४।।

४१. अनन्तरं मत्स्य[216]केशरिसंज्ञो राजा बभूव । अनेन विरजःक्षेत्रे वराहनाथस्य प्रासादः कारितः । अनन्तरं श्रीभुवनेश्वरक्षेत्रे बिन्दुह्लदसरसः पंकोद्धारणं[217] कारितम् । एतत्क्षेत्रस्थ-गुप्तगंगानन्दा-अष्टादश[218]-नामकजलनिर्गममार्गः कारितः । एतस्य राज्यकालः विंशतिवर्षाणि ।।२०।। एतद्योगेतीतशकाब्दाः जिनखेन्दुमिताः[219] ।।१०२४।।

४२. अतः परं च आर्य[220]केशरिनामा राजाभवत् । अयं कर्षकसकाशात्[221] मानमात्रभूमेः कार्षापणमात्रकरग्रहणं कृतवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशवर्षाणि ।।१५।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः गोऽग्निनभश्चन्द्र[222]मिताः ।।१०३९।।

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209. चन्द्राग्न° M.
210. नगागोनमिलितः ।
211. नरसिंग° M.
212. जलिताः M.
213. बालवन्त° M.
214. रञ्जितः M.
215. वेदखकेनव. M.
216. माच° M. (Tamilised from Oriya माछ<मत्स्य) ।
217. पंकोवारण° M.
218. Read अष्टादशनाल° ।
219. बिलिनखेन्दुमितः M.
220. वारिम्रा° L., परं चार्या° M.
221. सकलात् M.
222. गो अग्निनचन्द्र° M.

४३. अतः परं सुगजकेशरिसंज्ञो राजाभवत् । अनेन मानमात्रभूमेः पूर्वगृहीतकार्षापणमात्रकरात्[२२३] पादत्रयं त्यक्त्वा पादमात्रं गृहीतम् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः त्रयोदशवर्षाणि ।।१३।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः द्विपञ्चाशाभिताः ।।१०५२।।

४४. अनन्तरं सानुमन्त[२२४]केशरिनामा राजा बभूव । असौ शाबर[२२५] विद्यानिपुणः । सिद्धमंत्रेण वासुदेव वाहिनीपतिनाम्ना ब्राह्मण-सचिवेन[२२६] विवादं कृत्वा 'अहं यत्करोमि तद् भविष्यती'ति उक्तम् । वाहिनीपतिनोक्तम्—मया यत्कर्त्तव्यं तद् भविष्यतीति । तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा सभामध्याद्[२२७] वाहिनीपतिं[२२८] निष्कासितवान् । अनन्तरं वाहिनीपतिरिष्टदेवतावरवशात्[२२९] कर्णाटदेशे गत्वा चौडगंग[२३०]नामानमानीय[२३१] गजपतिसिंहासनेऽभिषेचितवान्[२३२] । अनन्तरं सानुमन्तकेशरिनामा कालधर्ममुपगतः[२३३] । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः वर्षद्वयम् ।।२।। एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः वेदेषु[२३४]खचन्द्रमिताः ।।१०५४।।

केशरी-वंशीयानां गतानां षट्त्रिंश राज्ञां[२३५] राज्यभोगकालः अष्टपञ्चाशदधिकषट्शतानि वर्षाणि ।।६५८।।

।। अथ गंगवंशीया राजानः ।।

४५. केशरीवंशानन्तरं गंगवंशराजत्वावसरे[२३६] गतशकाब्दाः ।।१०५४।। एतदवसरे सिद्धमन्त्रेण लब्धवरेण वासुदेववाहिनीपतिनाम्ना ब्राह्मणेन कर्णाटदेशं गत्वा चुडङ्गनामानमानीय[२३७] उत्कलदेशे गजपतिसिंहासनेऽभिषिक्तः । स्वयं वाहिनीपतिर्मन्त्री जातः ।अयं शाबर[२३८]विद्यानिपुणः । अनेन राज्ञा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे स्वनाम्ना चतुर्वर्णसाधारणं शालानिवेशनं कृतम् । एका

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223. करा अथ M.
224. सागमन्त° M.
225. शापर° M.
226. शचिवनो M.
227. समामध्ये M.
228. बाहिनीपतिः M.
229. वरवसा M.
230. चवुडवंग M.
231. नामामात्यो M.
232. °मिषिञ्चितवान् M.
233. °मपिवत्ता (?), M
234. वेदेशेषु° M.
235. केसरीवंशीयो गतः षट्त्रिंश राजा ।।३६।।
236. राज्यावसरे M.
237. यडङ्गनामामानियो M.
238. शापर M.

पुष्करिणी कृता[२३९]। अनेन विंशतिवर्षपर्यन्तं राज्यं कृतम्। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः ॥१०७४॥

४६. अनन्तरं गंगसूरनामा राजा राज्यं चकार। अयं गोदावरीतीराद् भागीरथीतीरपर्यन्तमेकच्छत्रराज्यं शशास। अनेन पुनः कालवशेन अन्यायप्रवृत्तेन[२४०] कारणान्तरे कोशलगंगानाम्नी पुष्करिणी कृता। अनन्तरं कालवशं गतः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः चतुर्दशवर्षाणि ॥१४॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः १०८८॥

४७. अनन्तरम् एकजटकामदेवनामा राजा बभूव। अयं वैष्णवो जातः। श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे चुडंगशालिकानामवसतौ श्रीमूर्ति स्थापयित्वा नीलाद्रिमहीधरे बृहन्मन्दिरप्रारम्भणार्थं शुभं दत्तवान्। तदारभ्य श्रीमूर्त्तेर्जगदीशितुरन्नं विना नैवेद्यं जातम्। एतस्य[२४१] राज्ञो[२४२] भोगकालः पञ्चवर्षाणि ॥५॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः ॥१०९३॥

४८. अतः परं मदनकामदेवनामा राजा बभूव। अनेनापि प्रारब्धबृहन्मन्दिरघटनां[२४३] कृत्वा श्रीक्षेत्रपश्चिमे[२४४] योजनान्तरे अलारनाथनाम[२४५]धेयविष्णुप्रतिमायाः प्रासादः कारितः। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः चतुर्वर्षाणि ॥४॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः ॥१०९७॥

४९. A. अनन्तरम् अनंगभीमदेवनाम[२४६]राजा राज्यं कृतवान्। अनेनापि शतहस्तपरिमितोच्छ्रायेण प्रासादो निर्मितः। एतत्प्रासादस्य सुद्रणप्रदेशे पूर्वपश्चिमाग्रभागसिंहनिर्मितैक[२४७]पाषाणस्थापनसमये वक्रिमा जाता, बहुप्रयत्नेनापि ऋजुतां[२४८] नैवाप। तद्दृष्ट्वा राज्ञो मनसि विस्मयो जातः। राज्ञा ईश्वरे विज्ञापितम्। तदा मसाणिनामानं[२४९] हनूमन्तम् ईश्वराज्ञा जाता। तेनागत्य रात्रौ तस्य घटितसिंहरूपपाषाणस्य ऋजुतया स्थापनं

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239. कृत्वा M.
240. न्यायप्रवृत्तेन M.
241. तस्य L.
242. राजा राज्य° M.
243. खटनां M.
244. पश्चमे M.
245. L. drops the word °नाम°।
246. विनिर्मतैक° L.
247. चक्रिमा M.
248. रुजतां L, रुवताम् M.
249. नाम्नो M.

कृतम् । तत्कर्मामानुषं दृष्ट्वा [राजा आनन्दितो][250] बभूव । अनेनापि बृहत्प्रासादाग्रे मुखशालि [°ला] नामक प्रासादान्तरं कृतम् । इमं प्रासादं आत्रेयसगोत्रः परमहंस-रथ-[251]वाजपेयी प्रतिष्ठितवान् । तदैव वैशाखशुक्लपञ्चमीगुरुवासरे बृहन्मन्दिर-मध्ये जगतीशितुः श्रीमूर्त्तिस्थापनं कृतम् । [भैरवप्रतिमास्थापनं कृतम् ।][252] एतत्समये शकवत्सराः ॥१११९॥ अत एवोक्तम्—

शकाब्दे रन्ध्र[253]शुभ्रांशुरूपनक्षत्रनायके ।
प्रासादः कारितो राज्ञानंगभीमेन धीमता ॥इति॥

B. तदा भगवत्सेवार्थं राज्ञा अधिकतया ब्राह्मणसेवकाः[255] पञ्चदश ॥१५॥ शूद्रसेवकाः पञ्चदश ॥१५॥ संभूय त्रिंशत्सेवकाः कृताः । पूर्ववद् अन्नादिमहाप्रसादः कारितः । श्रीजगन्मातुर्विमला[256] देव्याः प्रासादः कृतः । पार्श्वदेवतानां क्षेत्रस्थप्रधानदेवतानां च प्रासादपंक्तयः कृताः । एवमशीत्य[257]धिकवापीकूपादयः कृताः । ब्राह्मणानां विंशतिपरिमिताः अग्रहाराः कृताः । एतस्य राज्य-भोगकालः [सप्तविंशतिवर्षाणि] ॥२७॥ एतद्भोगेऽतीत[258] शकवत्सराः ॥११२४॥

५०. अतः परं[259] गज[260]राजेश्वरनामा राजा बभूव । अनेनापि श्रीक्षेत्रे अन्यत्र च[261] वापीकूपतडागादयः कृताः । एतस्य

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250. Supplied by Editors on the basis of Mādla Pānji, No 2 of A.B Mohanty.

251. परमहंससमसररथ° L परम-हंससंसरथ° M. The additional संस seems to be a corruption of हंस written twice.

252. This sentence is found only in MS M. whereas it is completely missing in MS L.

253. For रन्ध्र a variant reading रत्न is found elsewhere which denotes the number 9. cf. श्रीमंदिरेर कथा I 143.]

254. शुभ्रम् स्वरूप° M.

255. केशव (for सेवक) M.

256. मातः षट् विमला° M.

257. एकाशीत्यधिक° M.

258. तत्गत (for अतीत) M.

259. अनन्तरं L.

260. The Oriya रा seems to have been misread as ग, i. e. राजराजेश्वर ?

261. यत्प्राचो (for अन्यत्र च), M.

राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चत्रिंश[262]द्वर्षाणि ।।३५।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः ।।११५६।।

५१. अनन्तरं सलांगूलनरसिंह[263]देवनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेन कोणार्क[264]क्षेत्रे प्रासादप्रारम्भणं कृतम्[265]। अत्र शिवाइ[266] सामन्तरायनामकं मन्त्रिणं प्रासादनिर्माणविषये नियोज्य स्वयं विजिगीषुर्दक्षिणदिशं[267] गतवान् । गत्वा गोदावरीपर्यन्तं जित्वा[268] द्वादशवर्षपर्यन्तं तत्र कालं नीतवान्[269] । तत आगत्य कोणार्कप्रासादं प्रतिष्ठाप्य त्रयीमूर्त्ते[270]-र्भगवतो विवस्वतो[271] मणिरूपब्रह्म[272]स्थापनं कृतम् । तत्समये गतशकाब्दाः ।।१२००।।

अत एवोक्तम्—

> सपुच्छ[273]नरसिंहेन क्षमेश्वरेणांं[274]शुमालिनः ।[275]
> प्रासादः कारितो राज्ञा शके द्वादशके शते ।।

एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि ।।४५।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः ।।१२०४।।

५२. ततः परं कविनरसिंह[276]देवनामा राजा बभूव । तदानीं श्रीनीलाद्रिनायकस्य घोष[277]यात्रायां श्रीगुण्डिचामहोत्सवे प्रतिवर्षं रथषट्कं क्रियते । बृहत्पथि[278] मध्यमे भागे[279] एका नदी स्थिता । बालुकादिभिस्तां[280] प्रपूर्य रथत्रयेण यात्रा निर्वाहः कृतः । अनेनापि अष्टादशनाला इति घटि[281]

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262. विंशत्त्रिंशद्° M.
263. नरसिंग° M.
264. कोणिग्र° M.
265. प्रासादः प्रारंभः कृतः M.
266. शिवाई L, शिवाय M.
267. दिनं M.
268. ओलित्वा (?) M.
269. नियतवान् M.
270. त्रयीमूर्त्तिः L, त्रयीमूर्तये M.
271. विवश्वतो L
272. ब्राह्म° L.
273. सपुत्स° M. (Oriya त्स-च्छ !)
274. क्षेत्रस्वरेण° M.
275. °मालिना M.
276. कलिनरसिंग° M.
277. ऊष° M.
278. बृहस्पति M.
279. भोगे M.
280. °भिः तसे M.
281. घटी L, Perhaps घट्ट<घाट = embanktment is meant.

[घट्ट ?]-समीपे प्रस्तरे[282]जलनिर्गममार्गः कृतः । एतन्मन्त्रिणा नरेन्द्रमहापात्रेण नरेन्द्रनामा तडागः कृतः ।* एतस्य राज्ञो राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चविंशतिवर्षाणि ।।२५।। एतद्योगे गत-शकाब्दाः ।।१२२९।।

५३. A. अनन्तरं प्रतापनरसिंहदेवनामा राज्यं कृतवान् । अनेन ब्राह्मणा-नामनेकाग्रहाराः वापीकूपादयः कृताः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः विंशतिवर्षाणि ।।२०।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवर्षाणि ।।१२४९।।

B. अनन्तरं कविक्रान्तनरसिंहदेवनामराजा बभूव । एतस्य राज्य-भोगकालः वर्षद्वयम् ।।२।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः ।।१२५१।।

C. अनन्तरं कजलानरसिंहदेवनामा राजा बभूव । तस्य राज्यभोग-कालः [एकवर्ष] ।।१।। एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः ।।१२५२।।

D. अनन्तरं शंखभानुनरसिंहदेवनामा राजा राज्यं चकार । तस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तवर्षाणि ।।७।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः ।।१२५९।। अतः परं भानुसंज्ञकराजानः ।।

५४. [अनन्तरं] निःशंकभानुदेवनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान् । असौ धर्मपरायणः । एतस्य भगवद्दर्शनसमये सेवाकारिणा पशुपालक-नामधेयेन भगवन्निर्माल्यं तुलस्यादिकमलभमानेन स्वकीयपुत्र-शिरसो दमनकमालिकामानीय राज्ञे निवेदितम् । तत्प्रसादं सकेशमालोक्य वृद्धेन राज्ञा उक्तम्—भोः श्रीनीलाद्रिनाथस्य मूर्द्धनि केशाः सन्ति किम् ? बोद्धव्यम् । इत्युक्त्वा गतः । अनन्तरं सेवकैः संभूय प्रभोरग्रे विज्ञापितम् । तदा रात्रावीश्व-रस्य राजनि स्वप्नादेशो जातः—भो राजन्, बहवः केशाः सन्ति । प्रातःकाले गत्वा द्रष्टव्यम् । तत् तथा प्रातर्दृष्ट्वा राजा तुष्टो बभूव । सेवकानां बहुमानं कृतवान् । एतस्य राज्ञो राजकालः [चतुर्विंशतिवर्षाणि][283] ।।२४।। एतद्योगेऽतीत-शकवत्सराः १२८३।।

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282. प्रस्तरे L M.

*There is a big lacuna here in the MS M. which runs almost upto the end of the description of Kapilendradeva (§60). The text of the paragraphs 53-60, has consequently been edited with the help of MS L. only.

283. Supplied by the editors.

५५. अतः परं बलिभानुनामा राजा राज्यं चकार । एतन्मन्त्रिणा सिद्धमन्त्रेण ब्राह्मणेन चन्द्रस्याच्छादनं कृतम् । तदा तत्र देशे अन्धकारो जातः । तदा राज्ञा तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य 'चन्द्रचोरवाहिनीपति'रिति शाटिका दत्ता । ब्राह्मणानामग्रहारः कृतः । एतस्य राज्ञो राज्यभोगकालः [एकविंशतिवर्षाणि][२८४] ॥२१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः ॥१३०४॥

५६. अतः परं वीरभानुनामा राजा बभूव । तेन राज्ञा शत्रून् जित्वा गंगापरपारपर्यन्तं राज्यं कृतम् । तस्य राज्यभोगकालः ऊनविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥१९॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः ॥१३२३॥

५७. अतः परं कलिभानुनामा राजा बभूव । अनेन पश्चिमदेशो जितः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः त्रयोदशवर्षाणि ॥१३॥ एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः ॥१३३६॥

५८. अनन्तरं मत्तभानुनामा राजा बभूव । अनेन (sic!) मादकभोजनवशेन उन्मत्तो जातः[२८५] । अचेतनेनोक्तम्—मांसादिकं भगवते निवेद्य आनीयताम् । इत्याज्ञाप्य शयितः । तच्छ्रुत्वा मन्त्रिगणैः संभूय सूपकारानाहूय उक्तम्—किमिदं भविष्यतीति । सूपकारैर्विचार्य कूष्माण्डफलशर्करां कृत्वा दत्तम् । अनन्तरं सचेतनेन राज्ञोक्तम्—अहो, अज्ञानवशेन मया किमुक्तम् ! महानपराधः कृतः । इति विचार्य शिरसः उष्णीषं बहिष्कृत्य[२८६] रत्नसिंहासने भगवदग्रे स्थापयित्वा सविनयमुक्तम्—प्रभो, एतद्भगवदनुग्रहशाटिकां वोढुमनर्होऽस्मि । अन्यस्मै कस्मैचिद् अनुगृह्यतामिति । तदा रात्रौ स्वप्नादेशेन भगवदाज्ञा जाता—राजन्, न त्वमनर्हः[२८७A] । अतः[२८७B] मम शाटिकात्र त्वया[२८८] गृह्यतामिति । तदारभ्य विचिन्त्य

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284. Supplied by the Editors.

285, The reading जातम् (instead of जातः) would have corrected the grammatical stracture of the sentence to a great extent.

The readings marked with No 286—291 have been supplied by the Editors. The original readings in the manuscript (L) are :

286. बहिःकृत्य, L.

287. राजनत्वमनवर्हंत, L.

288. तया, L.

परीक्षकाः कृताः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः त्रयोविंशतिवर्षाणि ।।२३।। एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः ।।१३५६।।

५९. अतः परं अकटा-अवटा भानुनामा राजाभवत् । असौ धार्मिको जातः । एकदा भगवदग्रे विज्ञापितवान्—अहमपुत्रः । इदं राज्यं कस्याज्ञापयति भगवान् ? तदा रात्रौ भगवता आज्ञापितम्—ब्राह्मणगृहे कपिलनामकभृत्योऽस्ति । स तु भाण्डं गृहीत्वा विमलादेव्या अग्रे स्थास्यति । स एव पालनीयः । स तु राजा भविष्यतीति । अनन्तरमपरदिने राज्ञा तथा दृष्ट्वा बालकप्रतिपादनं कृतं, पट्टराज्ञै समर्पितम्, उक्तञ्च ईश्वराज्ञा[२८९] जाता 'असौ पुत्रवत् पाल्यताम् । मदन्ते राजा भविष्यतीति' । अतः परं कति[२९०] कालानन्तरं भगवदर्पित[२९१]चित्तः राजा कालधर्ममुपेयिवान् । तस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चदशवर्षाणि ।।१५।। एतद्योगेऽतीत शकवत्सराः ।।१३७४।। इति गंगवंशीया राजानोऽष्टादश ।।१८।। संभूय गंगवंशीयैर्भुक्तवत्सराः ।।३२०।।

।। अथ सूर्यवंशीया राजानः ।।

६०. अतः परं कपिलेश्वरदेवनामा पालितभृत्यो राजा बभूव यस्य प्रशस्तिः समुद्र-यमुनासंवादेन कीर्त्यते—

कालिन्दि [प्रिय किं त्वगस्य कठिने नाम द्विषो गीयते]
किं चैवास्मि कलिन्दजा [कथमहो नैवास्मि किं जाह्नवी ?]।
कार्ष्ण्यं किं तव ? कज्जलाश्रुपतनाद् गौडेन्द्रवामभ्रुवाम्,
को हेतुः ? कपिलेश्वरः करिपतिः कोपादुदीचीमुखः ।।[२९२]

अस्यावसरे [पूर्वसहचरः][२९३] वनमालिदासपुत्रः काशीदास-

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289. ईश्वराज्ञां ।
290. कलि° L.
291. भगवदर्पिति° L.
292. This śloka is found in a mutilated from in the manuscript L and it is missing in M. I have found it quoted on p. 89 in the work *Odiśara Sāmarika Saṃskriti* (Bhubaneswar 1981) where it is said to occur in the *Rasakalpadruma* of Jagannatha Miśra (18th c.) The reading of the first line is a little uncertain.
293. The bracketed portion seems to be redundant.

नामा[२९४] चौर्यवृत्त्यां पूर्वसहचरः स्थितः राजत्वानन्तरं राज्ञा न पृष्टः। तदा मनसि विचारितम्—राज्ञा ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तेनाहं विस्मृतः। यथा स्मरणं भविष्यति तथा विधेयम्। इति विचार्य राज्ञो नगरे चान्ति (?)[२९५] कृत्वा प्रविश्य चौर्यकर्मणा अनेकद्रव्यादिकं नीतम्। तद् दृष्ट्वा राज्ञा बिलद्वारमानं कृतम्। द्वादशांगुलविस्तारगर्त्तेन काशीदासेन गन्तुं शक्यते। तत्स्मृत्या काशीदास आकारितः, उक्तश्च—किमिदं कृतमिति। तेनोक्तम्—पूर्वमित्रेण राज्ञा श्रीमता न पृष्टम्। 'मदीययोगक्षेमः कथं निर्वहिष्यति' इति विचार्येदं कर्म कृतम्। भवदीयज्ञानार्थं स्मारितम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञोक्तम्—वरं वरयेति। तदा ब्राह्मणेनोक्तम्—भवदीयपौरोहित्यं देहीति। तेनोक्तम्--दत्तं पौरोहित्यमिति। तदारभ्य राजनगरे श्रीजगन्नाथमन्दिरे च पौरोहित्यं कृतं, पट्टज्योतिष्कपदं [च] प्राप्तम्।

६१. तेन राज्ञा श्रीजगन्नाथकस्य बहिः प्राचीरं कारितम्। अनन्तरं गंगास्नानार्थं बंगदेशं गत्वा तत्र तुलशीपुर नामकम् अग्रहारं ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तवान्। नवमवर्षे पश्चिमादिग्विजयं कृतवान्। दशमवर्षे क्षिमुण्डिनामकराज्यं गृहीतवान्। एतस्यैकादशवत्सरे राज्ये महार्घ्यं जातम्। भरणाभिधधान्यराशेः पञ्चाधिकशतकार्षापणमूल्यं जातम्। चतुर्दशवत्सरे महेन्द्रनामको देशो जितः। राज्यस्योनविंशतिवत्सरे राज्ञा विद्यानगरे तत्रत्याधिपान् जित्वा राज्यमात्मसात् कृतम्। त्रयोविंशतिवत्सरे पवनवशाद् राजा नष्टम् (? कष्टम्)*। एतदवसरे कुण्डजोरिनामकराजस्थं राजानं जित्वा तत्पत्नीं बन्दीकृत्य स्वकीयश्यालकं नरसिंहरायनामानमभिषिक्तवान्। पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरे सेतुपर्यन्तं राज्यं कृतवान्। अनन्तरं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे आगत्य भगवद्दर्शनं कृत्वा भगवदग्रे निवेदितम्—मम बहवः पुत्रा जाताः। कस्याज्ञापयति भगवानिति। तदा रात्रौ स्वप्नादेशो जातः 'पुरुषोत्तमरायस्य राजत्वं दत्त'मिति। अनन्तरमतिविस्मितेन राज्ञा सचिवानाहूयोक्तम्—पुरुषोत्तमरायो राजा भविष्यति, पाल्यताम्।

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294. °नाम in the Manuscript L.

295. Not clear. Probably 'संधिं' is meant (सिन्धि in Oriya).

*One has to add a verb here (प्राप, प्राप्तवान् etc.).

इत्युक्त्वाम् गृहीत्वा कृष्णाजोरिनामकराज्यं गतवान् । सप्तविंशति वर्षे राजा कालधर्ममुपेयिवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तविंशतिवर्षाणि ।।२७।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः शशिशून्यमनवः ।।१४०१।।

६२. अनन्तरमस्य पुत्रः[२९६] पुरुषोत्तमदेवो[२९७] राजा बभूव। तत्रैव[२९८] कृष्णवेणीतीरे राजपदं प्राप्य भगवद्दर्शनार्थं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रमागत्य[२९९] दर्शनं कृत्वा कटकस्य राजधान्यां[३००] स्थित्वा राज्यं कृतवान्। अनन्तरं ज्येष्ठकुलीनराजपुत्राः स्वीकृत्य[३०१] उक्तवन्तः—यदि अस्मदीयसावलीनामकैकघ्नीप्रहारं[३०२] सहिष्यसि तदा राज्यं भोक्ष्यसे। इत्युक्त्वाग्रे अष्टादशभ्रातरः प्रहारितवन्तः[३०३]। भगवदनुग्रहवशात् तदङ्गे किमपि न लग्नम्। 'अस्मदीय प्रहारादिकं[३०४] विफलितम्, अयं भगवदनुगृहीतमि'ति[३०५] मत्वा सर्वे देशान्तरं समाश्रितवन्तः।

६३. अनन्तरमस्य राज्यभोगकालस्य सप्तमवर्षे भोगमण्डपनामकप्रासादं कारितवान्[३०६A]। नवमवत्सरे[३०६B] कूर्मवेढाभिधमध्यप्राचीरं[३०७] कारितवान्। अस्मिन्नवसरे: सूपकारैः संभूय राज्ञोऽग्रे निवेदितम्—भोः, दासमुदुलि[३०८]नाम्ना सूपकारेण पाषाणावस्थित[३०९]पिष्टकावशेषं प्रोञ्छ्य,[३१०] पिण्डीकृत्य, अग्निमध्ये

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296. मत्पुत्रः M.

297. °देवो नाम M.

298. तत्रके M.

299. °मागत्यन् L. °मागत्य न M. The presence of न (न्) in both the MSS makes it appear probable that the reading in Original text could also have been न दर्शनं कृत्वा (not having seen). However since the existence of a negative is not warranted by the context, I have dropped it.

300. राजधाना M.

301. Missing in L.

302. अस्मदीयो सावलिनामकैगघ्नि-प्राहरं M.

303. प्रादारितमतः M.

304. प्रहरादिकं M.

305. भगवदनुग्रहमितीति M.

306.AB कारितवशे संवत्सरे M.

307. °बेडाभिदमाध्रप्राचिरं M.

308. दासमुदरे° M.

309. पाषाणमिव स्थितम् M.

310. प्राक् M,

पाचयित्वा, दग्धपूपं भगवद्भोगसमाप्त्यनन्तरं[311] गरुडपृष्ठभागे भगवदर्पणं कृत्वा भुज्यते इति[312]। तदाकर्ण्य राज्ञोक्तम्[313]—अहो, किं कृतमिति। अनन्तरं तदुपरि पदातिं दत्तवान्। तस्मिन्नेव रात्रौ[314] स्वप्नादेशो जातः—'मदीयसूपकारोपरि पदातिर्दत्तस्तेन रात्रौ मदीयदग्धपूपं न दत्तम्। तेन संतोषो नैव जातः[315] इति। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा दासमुदुलिनामानमाहूय[316] बहुमानपुरस्सरं महासूपकारपदं दत्त्वा उक्तम्—यथापूर्वं दग्धपूपं कृत्वा, भगवदर्पणं विधाय, भोजनीयमिति। तेन तथैवाचरितम्।

६४. अनन्तरं राजा [राज्ञा] दक्षिणदेशं गत्वा काञ्चीनगरे पद्मिनी कन्यास्तीति श्रुत्वा तामानेतुं दूतः प्रेषितः। अनन्तरं दूतो गत्वा काञ्चीनगरस्थराजाग्रे उक्तवान्—भगवन्, राजाधिराजेन[317] गजपतिना पुरुषोत्तमाभिप्रेयेन भवदीयपद्मिनीकन्या स्वीक्रियते,[318] दीयतामिति। तच्छ्रुत्वा काञ्चीपतिना नाङ्गीकृतम्[319]। अनन्तरं दूतेनागत्य[320] राज्ञोऽग्रे उक्तम्—विग्रहं[321] विना कन्या न दीयते इति। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा ससैन्येन तत्र गत्वा बहु युद्धं कृतम्, न जितम्। ततः पराङ्मुखेन राज्ञागत्य श्रीजगन्नाथाग्रे[322] दुःखितेन विज्ञाप्य, उपोष्य शयितम्[323]। दासमहासूपकारस्योक्तम्[324]- भगवदग्रे निवेद्य [निवेदय ?], काञ्चीपतिः कथं जेय[325] इति उक्त्वा। तदा रात्रौ सूपकारस्य स्वप्नादेशो जातः—'श्वो[326] मयैव जेतुमग्रे गन्तव्यम्, त्वया पश्चादागम्यतामिति' एतद् वक्तव्यमिति। तेन तथोक्तम्। तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा स्वसेनां गृहीत्वा दक्षिणदेशं प्रस्थितवान्। अनन्तरं कति[327]दूरे गत्वा राज्ञा चिन्तितम्—ईश्वराज्ञा जाता, भगवद्गमनं

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311. समीपेऽनन्तरं M,
312. भुञ्जतेति M.
313. Missing in M.
314. अस्मिन्नेकरात्रौ M.
315. दातम् इति M.
316. °दशमुदिमिमानाहूय M.
317. राजाधिराजानो M.
318. स्वीक्रियताम् M.
319. नाग्निकृतम् M.
320. दूत्रिनगया M.
321. विग्र M.
322. जगन्नायकाग्रे M.
323. पुष्ट्या सहितम् M.
324. सूपकारसोक्तं L; सूपकारसो युक्तम् M.
825. जय M.
326. सो M. L.
327. °गतिदूरे M.

जातं[३२८] न वेति[३२९] ? सन्देहे ईश्वरेण ज्ञात्वा[३३०] माणिकी[३३१] नामकगोपालिकासकाशाद्[३३२] दधि भुक्त्वा मूल्यार्थं[३३३] स्वकीय-मत्स्य[३३४]मुद्रिकां दत्त्वा तामुक्तवान्—राज्ञे दत्त्वा मूल्यं[३३५] नेयमिति। अनन्तरं सा[३३६] राज्ञोऽग्रे[३३७] कथितवती—राजन्, कृष्णशुक्लवर्णकाश्वावारुह्य[३३८] गताभ्यां भवदीयसैनिकाभ्यां[३३९] दधि भुक्त्वा मूल्यार्थं दिव्यमणिखचितमत्स्यमुद्रा दत्ता, उक्तञ्च 'राज्ञे दत्त्वा भवदीयमूल्यं ग्राह्यमि'ति। एतद्गृहीत्वा मदीय-मूल्यं[३४०] दीयतामि[३४१]त्युक्त्वा दत्तवती। मुद्रिकां दृष्ट्वा राज्ञा चिन्तितम्—गतं भगवतेति। अनन्तरं सानन्देन[३४२] राज्ञा तस्या बहुमानं कृत्वा उष्णीषमध्ये मुद्रिकां स्थापयित्वा गतम्। ततः काञ्चीनगरे प्रविश्य युद्धेन[३४३] जित्वा कन्यारत्नं गृहीतम्। तत एव सत्यवादीनामककृष्णमूर्त्तिः आनीता। अन्यप्रतिमान्तराणि आनीतानि। तत आगत्य कति दूरे विचारितम्—प्रभुणाग्रे गतं न वेति ? तत्काले एकेन गुडकारेणागत्य उक्तम्—राजन्[३४४], भवदीयाश्वारूढपुरुषद्वयेन[३४५] मत्तो[३४६] गुडसारादिकं नीत्वा, प्रपानकं कृत्वा पीतमल्यार्थं[३४७] कषा दत्ता[३४८]। 'राज्ञे दत्त्वा भवदीयमूल्यं ग्राह्यम्' इत्युक्तम्। तद् दृष्ट्वा सहर्षेण[३४९] राज्ञा तस्मै सुवर्णनिष्कं दत्त्वा तस्य बहुमानं कृतम्। भवद्हस्त[३५०]-जलमद्यावधि[३५१] सर्वैः पेयमिति आज्ञापितम् ॥

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328. भगवतु यमनं जाम् M.
329. नावायतु M.
330. ज्ञाता M.
331. मशिकी (श < ण)।
332. स्वप्रकाशा।
333. missing in L.
334. वत्स (for मत्स्य) L. M.
335. माल्यं M.
336. missing in M.
337. राज्ञोवग्रे M.
338. °शुक्लगोस्वादारुह्यो M.
339. सैनिकाख्यां M.
340. माल्यं M.
341. दीयमिति M.
342. नानन्देन M.
343. यधिनो M.
344. राजानो M.
345. भवदीयस्वारूढतदद्वयेन M.
346. मुक्तो M.
347. पतं माल्यार्थं M.
348. दत्त्वा M.
349. सोहरासेनको (?) M.
350. भववस्त° M.
351. अध्यावधी M.

*६४. A. *तत आगतम् । गोदावरीतीरे स्थित्वा काञ्चीराजा सैन्यं गृहीत्वा यथार्थमागतम् । तच्छ्रुत्वा सैन्यैरुक्तम्[३५२]—अस्मिन् बलं नास्ति । ब्राह्मणेन दैवीबलं कृतम् । तच्छ्रुत्वा गोदावरी-राजगुरुः गोदावरीम् आवाह्यित्वा[३५३] (=आवाह्य) गोदावरीं पूरितवान् । तद् दृष्ट्वा राजा स्वदेशं गतः ।*

६५. अनन्तरं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे गजपति-[३५४]रागत्य श्री मूर्तिदर्शनं कृत्वा भोगमण्डप[३५५]मध्ये सत्यवादिनं स्थापयामीति[३५६] चिन्तितवान् । तदानीं रात्रौ स्वप्नादेशेन आज्ञा जाता—'नात्र तिष्ठामी'ति । तदा राजा महानद्यपरपारे[३५७] चतुर्द्वारनामकनगरस्थ-राजधान्यां स्थापितवान् । अनन्तरं राज्ञा पद्मिनीकन्याविवाह-विषये नाङ्गीकृतम् । बहुजनप्रार्थनया कटकराजधान्यां सा परिणीता । कतिदिनानन्तरं ऋतुस्नान[३५८]दिवसे रात्रौ गमनसमये तदीयधात्र्या उक्तम्[३५९]—राजन्[३६०] इदानीम् आगतम्, स्थितम्, पुनरागम्यते किम् ? तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञो[३६१] मनसि विस्मयो जातः । किमिदमिति विचार्य परावृत्य[३६२] गतम् । तस्यां रात्रौ श्रीधवलेश्वर[३६३]नामधेयस्येश्वरस्याज्ञा जाता—एतत्कन्यायां मदीयगमनं जातम् । अस्या गर्भे[३६४]पुत्रो भविष्यति, स तु महाराजो भविष्यतीति । तच्छ्रुत्वातिहृष्टेन राज्ञाति-प्रयत्नेन सा कन्या नगरमध्ये[३६५] स्थापिता । अनन्तरं काले पुत्र[३६६] उत्पन्नः । तस्य जातकर्मादि कृत्वा 'प्रतापजेनामणि'-[३६७]

**This portion (§ 64 A) is completely missing in the MS L. However appropriate space for it is left blank on the folio (No. 33) to probably accommodate it later.

352. सैन्यैर्युक्तम् M.
353. आकाहयित्वा M.
354. missing in L.
355. मण्टप° M.
356. स्थापितवान् M.
357. महानदिपरिवारे M.
358. ऋतुस्थापन° M.
359. धात्रियोरुक्तम् M.
360. राजानो M.
361. राज्या M
362. पराकृत्य M.
363. धवलेश्वरस्वरनाम° M.
364. गच्छे M.
365. सा नगरकन्या [स्थापिता] M.
366. This word (पुत्रः) is missing in M.
367. प्रतापदेवनाममणि° M.

रिति पदं दत्त्वा स्थापितः अनन्तरमतिपण्डितेन राज्ञानेक-विद्वज्जनसंपादनं[३६८] कृतम्, अनेक[३६९] शास्त्रविषये निबन्धनादिकं कृतम् । ततः कालवशेन पालितपुत्रं[३७०] प्रतापरुद्रदेवनामकं राजानमभिषिच्य[३७१] कालधर्ममुपगतः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२५॥ एतद्योगे गतशकवत्सराः रसाक्षिमनुमिताः ॥१४२६॥

६६. अनन्तरमेतत्पुत्रः प्रतापरुद्रदेवनामा राजा बभूव । राजत्वतृतीयवत्सरे[३७२] धवलेश्वरनामधेय ईश्वरस्य प्रासादः[३७३] कारितः । याजपुरनामकक्षेत्रे चर्चिकादेव्याः मन्दिरं निर्मितम् । अनेनादि- (?) दशमवर्षे[३७४] दक्षिणदिग्विजयः कृतः, सेतुपर्यन्तं गतः, विद्यानगरं जित्वा[३७५] एकच्छत्रं राज्यं शशास । अनन्तरं त्रयोदशवत्सरे महार्घ्यं[३७६] जातम् । भरणनामधेयधान्यराशेः विंशत्यधिकशतकार्षापणमूल्यं जातम् । स्वकीयनगरे धनादिकं चौरै[३७७]र्नीतम् । राजा बौद्धान्[३७८] ब्राह्मणांश्चाहूय पृष्टवान्—मदीयधनं केन नीतमिति ? ब्राह्मणैर्न[३७९] कथितम् । बौद्धैः सर्वज्ञविद्याबलात्[३८०] कथितं, दापितञ्च । तद् दृष्ट्वा राजा ब्राह्मणानादरेण[३८१] बौद्धानां विशेषसंभावनादिकं दत्तवान् । राजपट्टमहिषी 'ब्राह्मणाः सर्वभावेन[३८२A] पूज्याः[३८२B] इति बहुमानं कृतवती[३८३] । तत्र राज्ञोक्तम् बौद्धा अतिविशेषज्ञाः, मान्याश्च । पट्टमहिष्योक्तम्—तादृशवाग्विशिष्टा[३८४] ब्राह्मणा एव । एवं विचारणायां राज्ञा[३८५] 'घट[३८६]मध्ये किमस्ति ये[३८७]

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368. संवादनं M.
369. अनेन M.
370. पुत्रान् M
371. °भिषिञ्च M.
372. राजत्सत्रयवत्सरे M.
373. प्रासादितः M.
374. वर्षे is dropped in L.
375. वलित्वा M.
376. महर्घ्याख्यं M.
377. कार्ये M.;
378. बौधाने M.
379. ब्राह्मणेन M.
380. विद्यावलमतु M.
381. ब्राह्मणादरेण M.
382. सर्वबौद्धेन उवाच [इति], M.
383. कृत इति, M.
384. °वाकी विशिष्टा M.
385. राज्ञो L; ज्ञाने M.
386. खट° M.
387. जय M.

वक्ष्यन्ति,[३८८] त[३८९]एवं विशिष्टा महात्मानोऽधिकतराः'[३९०] इत्युक्त्वा सर्पघटं[३९१] सपिधानं कृत्वा सभामध्ये स्थापितम्। बौद्धैरुक्तं[३९२] सर्पोऽस्ति[३९३]। ब्राह्मणैर्भस्मे[३९४]ति। पिधानं बहिः[३९५] कृत्वा दृश्यमानं भस्मैव। तदा[३९६] ब्राह्मणा अधिकतरा इति सभाव्य[३९७] स्थापिताः। बौद्धकृतं[३९८] ग्रन्थादिकं जलमध्ये निक्षिप्तम्। केवलम् अमरकोशजुमर[३९९] (?)–समरसिंह[४००]-अकेतसिंह–वीरसिंह–इति सर्वोपयोगिग्रन्थादिकं स्थापितम्।

६७. तत्समये गौडदेशाच्चैतन्यदेवेनागत्य श्रीनीलाद्रिनायकस्य दर्शनं कृतम्। राज्ञे षड्भुजा दर्शिताः[४०१]। अस्मिन्नवसरे राज्यकालस्य सप्तमवर्षे मुगलनामकम्लेच्छा[४०२] आगत्य कटकनिकटे स्थिताः। कटकरक्षकेण अनन्तसामन्तरायाभिधेन कटकदुर्गं त्यक्त्वा सारंगगढनामकदुर्गे[४०३] स्थितम्। श्रीजगन्नाथप्रतिमाचतुष्टयं नौकायां स्थापयित्वा चिल्लिकाभिधजलमध्ये चडारगुहा[४०४] नामकपर्वते स्थापितवान्। मुगलाभिधयवनमुख्येन [सुरा] सुरस्थानु[४०५] [=सुल्तान ?] नामकेन श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्र आगत्य मन्दिरमध्ये प्रतिमादिकं भग्नं कृतम्। अनन्तरं

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388. पश्यति M.
389. तव M.
390. बिकतरो M. °धिकराः L.
391. सर्पखटं M.
392. जादैर्युक्तं M.
393. सप्तोऽस्ति M.
394. °षट्भस्म M.
395. बहु M.
396. तथा।
397. सुभावो।
398. कृतं missing in M.
399. ग्रुमरो M.
400. समरसिद्धम् M.
401. कर्षिता M.
402. मेत्सा [=म्लेत्सा] M.
403. सारङ्गनामकगडि° M.
404. चडायिगृह M.
405. असुरासुरस्थानु L. There is hardly any doubt that the original reading is सुरस्थान which stands for सुल्तान and that the part [अ]सुर has been written twice.

दक्षिणदिग्विजयार्थं गतेन राज्ञा श्रुत्वागत्य[४०६] यवनाधिपं[४०७] उन्मुखीकृत्य[४०८] गत्वा गंगातीरपर्यन्तं नीतः[४०९]।

६८. अनन्तरं विंशतिवर्षे महेन्द्रकटकनगरं[४१०]विजयार्थं गत्वा तत्रत्य-राजमण्डलं जित्वा[४११] मलिका[४१२]स्थिताधिपेन[४१३] बहु युद्धं कृतम्, बहु सैन्यादिकं नष्टं जातम्। अनन्तरं तेन संधि विधाय, आगत्य[४१४] कटके प्रविश्य, अष्टाविंशतिवर्षे धवलेश्वरसन्निधौ कार्त्तिकशुक्लचतुर्थ्यां कालधर्ममुपगतः। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२८॥ तद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वेदेषुमनवः ॥१४५४॥

६९. A. अनन्तरमेतत्पुत्रः कालुआ[४१५]नामको राजाभवत्[४१६]।* अस्य गोविन्द विद्याधर[४१७] इति सचिवः[४१८] स्थितः। तेन खेल-विशेषेण[४१९] कूटादिना व्यापादितः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः वर्षम् ॥१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः शरेषुमनुमिताः[४२०] ॥१४५५॥

B. अतः परमेतत्पुत्रः प्रतापदेवनामा राजा बभूव। तस्य राज्य-भोगकालः एकवर्षम्। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः रसेषुशक्रमिताः ॥१४५६॥

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406. गत्वा (for आगत्य) L.

407. यमाधिकं गत्वा M; The MS L. also reads गत्वा after °धिपं but the correct place of this absolutive ought to be after the next word उन्मुखीकृत्य।

408. अनुमुखी M.

409. नतो: M.

410. The word नगरं is missing in L.

411. वलिं दत्त्वा (for जित्वा !) M.

412. मल्लिका M.

413. M. has a corrupt text, viz. स्थिदाधि असो

414. विधायाक्त्यो (for विधायागत्य)

415. कालुका M.

416. भवति M.

*The London Manuscript leaves a considerable space blank after this sentence.

417. गोविन्दार M.

418. शचीव M.

419. निशेषोणो M.

420. शलेषुमनुप्सिता: M.

421. बभूव M.

७०. अनन्तरं गोविन्द विद्याधरो नाम सचिवः स एव राजाभवत्[४२१]। अनेन प्रतापरुद्रदेवस्य द्वाविंशतिपुत्रा मारिताः। कटकराजधान्यां मधुश्रीचन्दन[४२२] इति राज्ञो[४२३] भ्राता तेन मारितः। राजपरिकराः प्राचीना ये स्थिताः त एव[४२४] मारिताः। अनेन राज्ञा वीरगोविन्दपुरनामकाग्रहारः[४२५] कारितः, तदीयपुष्करिणी खानिता। राजत्वपञ्चमवर्षे दक्षिणदिग्विजयः कृतः। एतेन साकं स्थितौ स्वकीयभागिनेयसचिवौ[४२६] रघुभञ्जछोटरायबालुंकिश्रीचन्दनौ[४२७]। अनयोर्वैमत्येन[४२८] राज्ञाचरितम्। तत एतावागत्य[४२९] श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे भगवद्दर्शनं कृत्वा मन्दिरपरीक्षकस्य शिरोहरणं कारितवन्तौ। ततो गत्वा कटकराजधान्यामुभाभ्यां[४३०] स्थितम्। कटकरक्षकेण मुकुन्दश्रीचन्दन नामधेयेन मणिखण्डनामकनगरे स्थितम्। एतेषां कर्मादिकं श्रुत्वा राजा आगतवान्। राजागमनं श्रुत्वा चतुरङ्गसैन्यं संपाद्य महानदीं तीर्त्वा चित्रपुरनामकग्रामे[४३१] स्थितवान्। उभयोर्युद्धं जातम्। युद्धे रघुभञ्जछोटराया[४३२]भिधेन पराजयं प्राप्य अपगतम्[४३३]। राज्ञा तदन्वेषणेन पश्चाद्भागे गंगापर्यन्तं गतम्। अनेन सप्तमवर्षे गंगातीरे कालधर्ममुपगतम्[४३४]। एतस्य राजभोगकालः सप्तवर्षाणि। एतद्योगेन शकवत्सराः त्रिषष्ट्यधिकचतुर्दशशतमिताः ॥१४६३॥

७१. अनन्तरं चक्रप्रतापदेवनामा राजा बभूव। [४३५]दक्षिणदिग्विज-

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422. °स्त्रीचन्दन M.
423. राज्ञा M.
424. तथैव M.
425. अग्रहृरितः M.
426. °भोगिनेयशचिका M.
427. रघुभुञ्ज-चोटराय बालकः श्रीचन्दनै M.
428. °वैवत्सनो M.
429. येनागत्य M.
430. राजधान्या सभाभ्यां L. and M. The reading सभाभ्यां, though supported by both the MSS, is definitely corrupt. The Oriya *mu* has obviously been misread as *sa*. The dual ending °भ्यां betrays the correct reading.
431. The word ग्रामे is illegible in M.
432. रघुभुञ्जचोटराय° M.
433. पकतम् M.
443. उपगतः M.
435. The sentence starts with an additional अनेन in M.

यार्थं गतः दनाइ-[४३६]विद्याधर इति वीरगोविन्ददेवसचिवः, तमानीय राज्यभारं दत्तवान्। तत्पालनया[४३७] भरणाभिधधान्यराशेः[४३८] मूल्यं सार्द्धकार्षापणत्रयं जातम्। पुनरपि राजा दनाइ-[४३९]विद्याधरं दक्षिणदेशं प्रेषयामास। अनन्तरं राजा अनीतिप्रवृत्तः[४३९] ब्राह्मणान् घासकर्त्तनविषये नियोजयामास[४४०]। अनन्तरं धनिकानां सकाशाद् धनादिकं गृहीतवान्। राज्यस्थप्रजा अति[४४१]विरक्ताः। अनन्तरम् आयुधागारं (?)[४४२] कनकद्वारा[४४३] कारितम्। मरणदिने गरुडस्तम्भे रज्जुनियोजनं कृत्वा आत्मानं बबन्ध। वैशाखकृष्णत्रयोदश्यां प्रहरत्रयसमये[४४४] कालवशेन रज्जुश्छिन्ना[४४५] (नः)। पतित्वा राजा लोकान्तरं प्राप। अनन्तरं समस्तसेवकैः मन्दिरपरीक्षकेण च विचार्य पश्चिमद्वारमार्गेण राजशवो[४४६] बहिर्नीतः[४४७]। तदारभ्य द्वारमुद्रणं[४४८] जातम्। एतस्य राज्ञो[४४९] राज्यभोगकालः अष्टौ वत्सराः। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः चन्द्रागमनुमिताः[४५०] ॥१४७१॥

७२. अनन्तरं नरसिंहदेवनामराजा बभूव। असौ दक्षिणदिशि[४५१] स्थितं दनाइ-[४५२]विद्याधरनामानमानेतुं[४५३] लोकं[४५४] प्रेषयामास। एतदवसरे मुकुन्दहरिचन्दननामा स्वकीयभ्रातृचतुष्टयमासादनशिविकायां[४५५] निभृतं स्थापयित्वा 'राजा[४५६]अन्तःपुरं गच्छती'ति शङ्कां (अशङ्कां ?) कारयित्वा प्रेषयामास। तत्र प्रच्छन्नतया[४५७] गतेन भ्रातृचतुष्टयेन अन्तः प्रविश्य राजा व्या-

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436. धनायि° M.
437. पालनीयो° M
438. °शेः आर (?) M.
439. A lacuna in M. which has destroyed the letters वृत्तः of प्रवृत्तः।
440. नियोजनामास M.
441. राति (for अति) M.
442. आयुर्धारं M. आयुद्वारिधारं L.
443. कनकद्वारं M. कणकद्वारा L
444. प्राहुरत्रसमये M.
445. रज्जुचिह्ला M.
446. राजासचिवः M.
447. बहिर्निहितः M.
448. मुद्रिणं M.
449. राज्यं M.
450. चन्द्रा[illegible]ोमनवः M.
451. दिशं M.
452. धनायि M.
453. °मासेतुं M.
454. त्रिलोकं M.
455. सा[illegible]ोधन सिबिकामां M.
456. राज्ञोऽ L.
457. प्रच्छन्नतः मया M.

पादितः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः एकं वर्षम् । एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः द्विसप्तत्यधिकचतुर्दशशतवत्सराः ॥१४७२॥

७३. अतः परं जेना-रघुराजदेव[४५८] नाम राजा अभवत् । एतत्समये दनाइ-[४५९]विद्याधरेणागतम् । तं मुकुन्द-हरिचन्दनेन विश्वासमुत्पाद्य कटकनगरे नीत्वा पादयोः शृंखलानियोजनं[४५९] कारितम् । पूर्वगतरघुभञ्ज[४६०]छोटरायः चतुरंगसैन्यं गृहीत्वा देशान्तराद् आगतः । स तु मुकुन्द-हरिचन्दनेन युद्धं कृत्वा[४६१] पराजितः । मुकुन्दहरिचन्दनेन छोटरायः[४६२] कारायां[४६३] निवेशितः । तस्य राज्ञो राज्यभोगकालः वर्षम् ॥१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वह्नि[४६४]नगमनुमिताः ॥१४७३॥

७४. अतः परं तैलंग-मुकुन्ददेवनामा राजा बभूव । अनेन देवब्राह्मणा[४६५] बहुमानेन सेविताः । श्रीजगन्नाथबृहन्मन्दिरे[४६६] जीर्णोद्धारादिकं[४६७] कारितम् । जगन्मोहननामक प्रासादः कारितः, मुकुन्दपुरनामकाग्रहारः कारितः । एका पुष्करिणी कृता[४६८] । तदीयनिकटे एका कृष्णमूर्तिः स्थापिता । अनन्तरम् उत्तरदिग्विजयार्थं गतः । तत्र गंगातीरे इष्टकेन सोपानरूपघट्ट[४६९]बन्धनं कारितम् । गंगादेव्यै रत्ननिर्मितं-चूलिकाद्वयं दत्तम् । भगवत्याः सचूलिकं[४७०] हस्तद्वयस्य दर्शनं कृतम् । तत्र गौडाधिपसंगे[४७१] प्रीतिर्जाता । अनन्तरं स्वदेशे आगत्य[४७२] वरुणाइ-नामकदेव्या[४७३] दर्शनं कृतम् । तत्र श्येनो[४७४]परि बकाक्रमणं दृष्ट्वा अतीवहृष्टेन राज्ञा चिन्तितम्—'महासत्त्व-[४७५]

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458. जना रघुरामदेव° M.
459. नियोरितं तु M.
460. पुरगतरघुपुञ्जं M.
461. कृतः M.
462. चोटरायः M.
463. This word is missing in M.
464. मन्नि° M.
465. देवब्राह्मणेन M.
466. The word मन्दिरे is missing in M.
467. जीर्णोधाकारिधं M.
468. एकां पुष्करिणीं कृतः M.
469. घट (an obvious mistake for घट्ट) M. L.
470. स्वचूलिकं M.
471. The word संगे has been lost in M.
472. स्वदेशादागत्य M.
473. Reading corrupt in M. ('नातुकदेश्यो')
474. स्येनो° L.
475. महसते M.

जीवोपरि स्वल्पसत्त्वजीवोऽस्ति, स्थानमाहात्म्यमेतद्' इति[४७६] विचार्य तत्र खुरुदानामकदुर्गं रचयामास। तत आगत्य दोला[४७७]-वेदिकां निर्माय श्रीजगन्नाथप्रतिमात्रयं दोलपौर्णम्यां[४७८A] दोलायां[४७८B] निवेशितम्। तदारभ्य[४७९] दोलायात्रा जाता।

७५. एतदवसरे[४८०] कलापाहाडनामकयवनाधिपेनागतम्। कांस्य-मयं[४८१] डिण्डिममानीतम्। कटके आगत्य कटकनगररक्षकं कोलिसामन्तरायनामानं युद्धेन हत्वा नगरादिकं[४८२A] लुण्टि-तम्[४८२B]। राजमहिष्यादीनां भोगेन जातिध्वंसः कृतः। एतद्-वृत्तान्तादि श्रुत्वा राजा अरण्यमध्ये प्रविष्टवान्। सारंगगडनामक दुर्गरक्षकः रामचन्द्रछोटराय[४८३]स्तत्र राजा जज्ञे[४८४]। अनन्तरं यवनसैन्येकदेशेन[४८५] गत्वा अरण्यमध्ये राजनगरादि लुण्टि-तम्[४८६]। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञापगतम्[४८७]। अनन्तरं मुकुन्दरामचन्द्र-देवयोर्युद्धे रामचन्द्रदेवः[४८८] [? मुकुन्ददेवः ?] पतितः। ततः परं रामचन्द्रः पतितः। ततः परं राजा कालधर्ममुपगतः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः अष्टौ वत्सराः ॥८॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः एकाशीत्यधिकचतुर्दश शतवत्सराः ॥१४८१॥

७६. अनन्तरं गौडगोविन्ददेवनामा राजा बभूव। एतस्य प्रथमवत्सरे फाल्गुनशुक्लपौर्णम्यां दोलायात्रायां दोलनसमये रज्जु-श्छिन्ना[४८९]। बलभद्रप्रतिमायाः पतनेन[४९०] भुजभङ्गो[४९१] जातः। तं पट्टवस्त्रादिना वेष्टयित्वा मन्दिरमध्ये स्थापितम्। अतः परं

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476. 'एतद् इति' lost in M.
477. 'दोला' is lost in M.
478. डोलपैर्नम्याम्। डोनेलायाम् M:
479. तदारपु M.
480. एतद्वसरे L.
481. कांशमय L M.
482. नगराग्तिम्। लुंडितम् M. °लुटितं L.
483. M. always refers to this man as चोटराय°
484. 'जज्ञे' lost in M.
485. Read सैन्यंकदेशेन।
486. राजनगराधितम् लण्ठितम् M.
487. राजापक्तम् M.
488. Both M. and L. read here रामचन्द्रदेवः which is strange. It was मुकुन्ददेव who fell first. रामचन्द्रदेव falls once more in the next sentence.
489. रजतन्ना M.
490. प्रतिमा श्रनेन M.
491. भुजपंगो M.

कतिदिनानन्तरं राजाज्ञया प्रतिमात्रयं दिव्यसिंहपटनायकाभिधेन परीक्षकेण पारिकुदाभिधराज्यस्थछपलि-हस्तिपत्तन[492] ग्रामे पाषाणनिर्मितसुधालिप्तगर्भगृहे स्थापितम्। यवनैः संभूय युद्धे राजा व्यापादितः[493]। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः वर्षद्वयम् ॥२॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः त्र्यशीत्यधिक चतुर्दशशतानि ॥१४८३॥

७७. अनन्तरं राज्यमराजकं कलापाहाडयवन[494]भोग्यं जातम्। यवनभोगकालः ऊनविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥१९॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वर्षद्वयाधिकपञ्चदशशतानि ॥१५०२॥ एतन्मध्ये यवनाधिपेन[495] पिशुनमुखाच्छ्रुत्वा[496] तत्रागतम्। गर्भगृहान्निष्काश्य प्रतिमाचतुष्टयं हस्तियानेनानीतम्। भगवतः कोषमन्दिरं लुण्टितम्[497]। बृहन्मन्दिरादुपरिभागात् किञ्चिद् भग्नं[498] कारितम्। पार्श्वदेवताश्चूर्णीकृताः[499]। कल्पवटं छित्त्वा अग्निना दग्धम्। अनन्तरं प्रतिमादिकं गृहीत्वा गंगातीरे गत्वा काष्ठादिना दग्धम्। तदानीं तस्य[500] देहः खण्डशः[501] भिन्नो जातः। तदीयसचिवेनोक्तम्[502]—देवतादग्धापराधाद् इयमवस्था जाता। तत्पुत्रेण दृष्ट्वावशिष्टं गंगाजले निक्षिप्तम्। जलमध्ये संचरत्[503] दारुशेषं दृष्ट्वा वैष्णवरूपधारिणा[504A] ईश्वरसेवाकारिणा[504B] विसरमहान्तिनामधेयेन[505] आनीय मृदंगमध्ये स्थापयित्वा नीतम्। आगत्य कुजंगनामकराज्यस्थ 'खण्डाइतकालुआ' नामक ग्रामे स्थापितम्। राज्यमराजकं स्थितम्। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वर्षद्वयाधिकपञ्चदशस्थितानि [=शतानि]।

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492. हस्थि-एतन M. छपलि-हस्ति-पतन L.

493. व्यापारितः M.

494. कलापहाडुचेखुन ।

495. यवनाधीनोऽपि M.

496. मुखाच्छ्रुत्र° L. मुखाश्च तत्र M.

497. लुटितं L. लुण्ठितं M.

498. गर्भं M.

499. क्षुर्णीकृताः L; चूर्ण कृतम् M.

500. °नीं तस्य missing in M.

501. खण्डनः M.

502. तद्दिव्यसचिवेन M. तदीयशचिवेन L.

503. संचरितं M.

504.[AB] धारिणां, कारिणां M.

505. नामदेहेन M.

।। अथ खुर्द्धा-राजवंशः (भोइवंशीयाः) ।।

७८. अनन्तरं धर्मरक्षार्थं सिवाई-जयसिंह[५०६]नामकमहाराजेन पातिसानामकयवनाधिपाज्ञया आगत्य दृष्टम् । महानदीप्रभृति-नदान्, भुवनेश्वरक्षेत्रस्थलिंगानि, देशस्थब्राह्मणान्, समुद्रं च दृष्ट्वा उक्तम्—अस्माकमत्र कार्यं नास्तीति ।[५०७] अनन्तरमेत-द्देशस्थकरणः वीर-बेहरा[५०८]नामको राज्यलेखकः आगत्य मिलितः । तस्य पुत्रत्रयम् । तत्रत्यज्येष्ठं रामचन्द्रसंज्ञकं राजत्वे-ऽभिषिक्तः । द्वितीयतृतीयौ सचिवौ जातौ । तयोर्नामनी दास-विद्याधर-छकुडिभ्रमरवररायाविति । रामचन्द्रदेवे जयसिंहेन[५०९] उक्तम्—आभ्यां सह कार्यादिकं करणीयम् । इत्युक्त्वा स्वराज्यं प्रति गतम् । तदानीं भ्रातृभ्यां[५१०] तस्य संगे मेदिनीपुरपर्यन्तं गत्वा उक्तम्- इत एव स्वदेशं प्रति गन्तव्यमिति । अनन्तरं जयसिंहमहाराजेन निन्दा[म्] कृता [कृत्वा] उक्तम्—अत एव[५१२] भवदीयं राज्यं दत्तमिति ? तत आगत्य राज्ञा राज्यं कृतम् ।

७९. अतः परं कतिदिनानन्तरं दासविद्याधर-छकुडि[५१३]भ्रमरवर-राययोः राजनि[५१४] मनो न मिलितम् । भ्रातृभ्यां मिलित्वा पुनरपि सिवाई-जयसिंह[५१५] निकटे गत्वा सर्वं निवेदितम्[५१६] । जयसिंहेन राज्यं द्विधा विभज्य अर्द्धं राज्ञे अर्द्धं भ्रातृभ्यां च दत्तम् । तन्मध्ये राहांग-चउबिसिकुद्-शिराइ-लेम्बाइ-श्रीपुरु-षोत्तमक्षेत्रादिकं[५१७] रामचन्द्रदेवेन भुक्तम् । छकुडिभ्रमरवर-रायेन [ण] पटिआ-नामकराज्यं सारङ्गगडाभिधदुर्गं भुक्तम् । दासविद्याधरेण खुरुधाभिधाद् भुवनेश्वरपर्यन्तम् आठमलिका[५१८] भिधखण्डाधिपान्[५१८A] निष्काष्य [स्य] तत्र राज्यं कृतम् । महा-

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506. शिवाय–सिंग M.
507. The MS adds after this sentence : अनन्तरं बोयिकंशीयानः (=अनन्तरं भोइवंशीयानः)
508. °बेकारा M.
509. जय शिङ्गेन° M.
510. भ्रातनोभ्यां M.
511. मेदिनीपूर्वं M.
512. इतरवो M.
513. चकोडि° M.
514. राज्य M.
515. शिवाय जयशिंग° M.
516. ....वैरितम् M.
517. °क्षेत्राधिकम् M.
518. षट्मल्लिका M.
518.A °खण्ड्राद द्विपान् L.

नद्यपरपारे अष्टदुर्गाभिधराज्यं भुक्तम् । दासविद्याधर नामा अग्रहारः कारितः ॥

८०. अनन्तरं रामचन्द्रदेवेनातिप्रतापवता खुरुधादुर्गस्य जगन्नाथ-प्रसादेति नामान्तरं कारितम् । नवमवत्सरे राजा कुजंगराज्ये गत्वा दग्धशेषदारु आदाय वनयागविधिना नवीनप्रतिमां कारयित्वा, शेषं नियोज्य, प्रतिष्ठाप्य[519], श्रावणशुक्लनवम्यां बृहन्मन्दिरस्थरत्नसिंहासने स्थापयामास । खुरुधादुर्गे राज-धानी[520] निवेशयामास । द्वादशवत्सरे तोडरमल्लसंज्ञक[521]-यवनाधिपेनागत्य राजदर्शनं कृत्वा, कटके स्थित्वा, राज्य-मापनं[522] कारितम् । राजा बिसरमाहान्तिनामानं[523] पुरुषो-त्तमक्षेत्रे नायकपदं दत्तवान् । मासचतुष्टयपर्यन्तं भगवतः अन्नं विना[524] नैवेद्यं जातम् । अनन्तरं संन्यासिब्राह्मणानाहूय, शास्त्रविचारेण अन्ननैवेद्यं कारयित्वा, श्रीमहाप्रसादं गृहीत्वा संन्यासिब्राह्मणानाहूय कथितवान्—महाप्रसादं (sic!) स्वी-क्रियतामिति । तैः संभूय, विचार्य, स्वीकृतम् । महाप्रसादसेवनं कृत्वा शिरसि हस्तप्रोञ्छनं[525] कृतम् । अथ रामचन्द्रदेवस्तु द्वितीय इन्द्रद्युम्नो[526]ऽवतीर्ण इति[527] मानितः ।

८१. अनन्तरं राजाज्ञया[528] परीक्षकेन [ण] मुकुन्दपट्टनायकनाम्ना च विचार्य मुकुन्ददेवराज्यकालादारभ्य तद्दिनपर्यन्तं सेवका देशान्तरस्थाः सर्वे आकारिताः । सेवान्तरेषु न स्थिताः नवीना नियोजिताः । एवं संभूय षट्त्रिंशत् सेवकाः । नानाविधपूपादि-घटनया निवेद्यादिकं [नै°] कारितम् । वीररामचन्द्रपुर-[529] श्रीरामचन्द्रपुर-विजयरामचन्द्रपुर-प्रतापरामचन्द्रपुर-उभयमुखी-रामचन्द्रपुरसंज्ञकाग्रहारपञ्चकं कारितम् । प्रासाद-पुष्करिणी-वाप्यारामादयः कारिताः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः ऊन[530]

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519. प्रतिष्ठास्य M.
520. राजदानं M.
521. सैन्यको (for संज्ञक°) M.
522. °रूपनं M.
523. नरहरहरिमहान्ति M.
524. विनाहः (?) M.
525. प्रोस्थनं M.
526. इन्द्रजुम्नो M.
527. °वतीर्णयति M.
528. M. omits राजा°
529 for all पुर° the MS M has 'वूह'.
530. पुनः instead of ऊन° M.

त्रिंशद् वर्षाणि ।।२९।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः च चन्द्राग्नितिथिमिताः ।।१५३१।।

८२. अनन्तरमेतत्पुत्रः पुरुषोत्तमदेवनामा राजा बभूव। चतुर्थे वर्षे श्रीजगन्नाथस्य प्रतिमा दोलायात्रार्थं कपिलेश्वरपुरग्रामे विमानयानेन नीत्वा, यात्रां[५३१] समाप्य बृहन्मन्दिरमध्ये निवेशिता। दशमवत्सरे केंशरिखाँ[५३२]नामकयवनाधिप आगतवान्। श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे मन्दिरमध्ये प्रविश्य स्थितवान्। जगन्नायकप्रतिमा[५३३]चतुष्कं गुण्डिचागृहे स्थितम्। रथत्रयं दग्ध्वा शिविकायानेन बृहन्मंदिरे स्थापयामास। मासाष्टकं फलाहारादिनिवेदनं जातम्। कैरपि तत्र न प्रविष्टम्[५३४]। राज्ञा सह युद्धं जातम्[५३५]। तत्र बहु[५३६] सैन्यं मृतम्। ततः सन्धि विधाय गतवान्। ततो यथापूर्वं भगवत्सेवानिवेदनादिकं जातम्।

८३. ततः कतिवर्षानन्तरं हंसाम [=हाशिम]-नामा यवनाधिपराज आगतः। तत्समये श्रीमूर्त्तिचतुष्टयं खुरुधादुर्गस्थ[५३७]गोपालमन्दिरे स्थापितम्। यवनेन[५३८] दक्षिणदिग्विजयार्थं गतम्। अनन्तरं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमबृहन्मन्दिरे आनीय स्थापितम्। द्वादशवत्सरे कल्याणनामा यवन आगतवान्। दासविद्याधरनामकराजसचिवं कूटेन धृत्वा[५३९] कारायां निवेशितवान्। अथानन्तरं राज्ञा भगवन्मूर्त्तिचतुष्टयं नौकायानेन नीत्वा मइंसा[५४०]-नामकपर्वतमध्ये स्थापयित्वा कल्याणेन युद्धं[५४१] कृतम्। कल्याणेन युद्धे पराजयं प्राप्यापगतम्[५४२]। तत्पश्चाद्भागे राज्ञा कति दूरं गत्वा आगतम्। आगत्य वक्रेश्वरश्रीचन्दनेन युद्धं कृत्वा दुर्गो भग्नः। अष्ट[५४३]दुर्गमध्ये राजधानी कृता। दासविद्याधरनामानं राज्यपालने नियोज्य स्वयं पारिकुद[५४४]राज्यस्थमहिषानासानामकस्थले स्थितम्।

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531. जात्रां M.
532. केसरीखा M.
533. M. omits the word प्रतिमा।
534. तत्रज्यु प्रतिष्ठम् M.
535. सहायुध जातम् M.
536. बृहत् M.
537. दुर्गस्थ M.
538. यमनेन M.
539. हत्वा M.
540. मैसा M
541. आयुधं M.
542. पङ्क्तम् (for अपगतम्) M.
543. अष्टम M
514. पारिकुत M.

८४. अनन्तरं····म खाँ (मकरम खाँ ?) नामकयवनेनागत्य खुरुधा-नामकदुर्गं प्रविश्य तत्रत्यप्रतिमादिकं[545] भग्नम्। तदानीं राजकीयाः पुरुषाः सत्यवादिनामकं गोपालं नौ[546]यानेन नीत्वा बाणपुरराज्यस्थ'गवपदर'[547]-नामकग्रामे स्थापितम्। ततः कतिदिनानन्तरं यवनेन गतम्। ततो भगवतः मूर्तिचतुष्टयं श्रीक्षेत्रस्थबृहन्मन्दिरे स्थापितम्। ततः कतिदिनानन्तरं सुबाहुमेद-बेग[548] [?] नामकयवनाधिपेन आगतम्। पुरुषोत्तमपथा[549] दक्षिणदेशे गतम्। ततो राजा कालधर्मं प्राप। एतस्य राज्य-भोगकालः एकविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः युग्मपञ्चेषुचन्द्रमिताः ॥१५५२॥

८५. अतः परं तस्य पुत्रो नरसिंह[550]देवनामा राजा राज्यं चकार। एतस्य प्रथमराजत्वावसरे श्रीजगन्नाथदर्शनार्थं क्षेत्रे आगत्य दर्शनं कृतवान्। भगवच्छत्रं[551] राजसंगे[552] नअर[553]पर्यन्तं प्रतिदिनं गच्छति। तदानीं निवारणं कृतम्। मन्दिरमध्य एव[554] राजोपरि तिष्ठति, नान्यत्र। भगवतः पाकशालामध्याद् आमर्कातत[555]फलशाकादिकं गतं स्थितम्। तदपि निषिद्धम्[556]। तदारभ्य श्रीमहाप्रसादशाकव्यञ्जनान्नापूपादिकं राज[557]भोजनार्थं गच्छति। विमलादेव्याः प्रतिदिनं मत्स्यादिनिवेदनं स्थितम्। तदपि निषिद्धम्। केवलं शरत्कालपूजान्ते दिनत्रयं, तदपि निशीथे,* विहितम्। यावद्भगवन्निवेदितापूपादिकं विमलायाः समर्पणं कर्त्तव्यमिति नित्या[558] आज्ञा दत्ता। भुवनेश्वरक्षेत्रे

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545. प्रतिमाधिकं M.
546. The word नौ is dropped in M.
547. शबदर° M.
548. मेघवेग° M.
549. °पता M.
550. नरसिंग M.
551. भगवत्सत्रि M.
552. राजासने M.
553. न पारं M.
554. मध्यैव M
555. कर्दित M.
556. सिद्धम् M.
557. रात्रि° L

*The MS L starts the sentence with तदपि निशीथे and continues with केवलं etc.

558. This word is missing in L.

यात्रादिकं पारम्पर्येण स्थितम्। तदपि निषिद्धम्। तदीयप्राचीरे[559] कांगुलाभिधपाषाणादिकं[560] निष्कासितम्। तत्र[त्य][561]वसतिर्नाशिता। श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे सप्तशालिका द्विचत्वारिंशत्शालिका च कृता[562]। रामकृष्णजन्मयात्रादिकं कारितम्। मन्दिरस्येशानदिग्भागे दोलमण्डपं[563] रचयित्वा दोलगोविन्दनामकनारायणमूर्त्ति निर्माय यात्रा कारिता। अनवसरे पूर्वं चित्रमयश्रीकृष्णपटं स्थितम्। तत्र पटमध्ये वासुदेवनारायणभुवनेश्वरीमूर्त्तीर्लिखाप्य[564] स्थापिताः[565]। पाकशालायां कठिनतरलड्डुकादिकं[566] नैवेद्यार्थं विहितं स्थितम्। तदपि निषिद्धम्। तदानीं रात्रौ नृसिंह[567]रूपेण भगवदादेशो जातः—अनया मूर्त्या[568] कठिनलड्डुकादिकं भुज्यते इति[569]। तच्छ्रुत्वा पूर्ववत्तत्[570] कृतम्। तदारभ्य नृसिंहमूर्त्तेश्च भोग[571]नामकनैवेद्यं कारितम्। दक्षिणपार्श्वे नगरं निर्माय भगवदनुसरणेन स्थितम्।

८६. एतस्य नवमवर्षे अहंमदबेग[572]नामा यवन आगतवान्। पुरुषोत्तमे आगत्य राजान्तःपुरमहिष्यादिकं कटके नीतवान्। राज्ञा गत्वा खुरुधाविषयस्थमाणतिर [माणित्रि-] नामकदुर्गे नगरं निर्माय स्थितम्[573]। अनवसरमध्ये स्थितं प्रतिमाचतुष्टयं दयितापतिनामकसेवकैः संभूय पट्टवस्त्रैर्वेष्टयित्वा[574] राजाज्ञया स्वकीयनगरे नीतम्। अनन्तरं राज्ञा यवनाधिपं ग्रहीतुं प्रयत्नः कृतः[575]। तज्ज्ञात्वा यवनाधिपेन राजान्तःपुरादिकं राजनि समर्प्य सन्धिं विधाय गतः [=म्]।

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559. °प्राचीने M.
560. °धिकं M.
561. तत्र M,
562. कृत्वा M.
563. डोलमण्टपं M.
564. विचाप्य (?) M.
565. स्थाप्य M.
566. लड्डुकारितं M.
567. नरशिंग M.
568. °मात्यया M.
569. भुज्यतेति M.
570. पूर्वकं M.
571. °मूर्त्तेस्तु च भोग°
572. हमवेग M.
573. Hereafter several words are missing in the text of M.
574. पट्टवस्त्राणि षट् वेष्टयित्वा M.
575. प्रदप्तं कृतम् M.

८७. अतः परं दक्षिणदिशः साबाद-पातिसा[५७६]नामकयवनेनागत्य राज्ञा मेलं कृत्वा गौडदेशे गतम् । तेन साकं याजपुर[५७७]पर्यन्तं राज्ञानुगमनं कृतम् । तत आगत्य माणित्रि दुर्गनगरस्थापित-भगवन्मूर्तिचतुष्टयमानीय श्रीपुरुषोत्तमबृहन्मन्दिरे स्थापयित्वा यथापूर्वमन्ननिवेदनादिकं कारितम् ।

८८. अनन्तरं साबाद-पातिसा नामकं [= °केन] यवनेन पराजयं प्राप्य स्वदेशं प्रति गतम्[५७८] । तत्समये भगवन्मूर्त्तिचतुष्टयं खुरुदादुर्गस्थ मेरदानामकग्रामे स्थापितम् । तत आनीय पुनरपि यथास्थानं स्थापितम् । अनन्तरं भगवतः सेवासु मध्ये एकस्यां सेवायां सेवकचतुष्टयं नियोजितम् । अतः परं कतिदिनानन्तरं राजा[५७९] नरसिंहपुरनामकाग्रहारं कारयामास ।

८९. अनन्तरं पञ्चविंशतिवत्सरे राज्यवसानसमये नवाबमत्तखाँआ-अमुराफतेखाँआ नामक यवनद्वयेनागत्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमनगरमध्ये प्रविश्य डिल्लीश्वरयवनाधिपाज्ञया राज्ञः शिरोहरणं कृतम् । एतस्य राज्ञो राज्यभोगकालः पञ्चविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२५॥ एत-द्योगेऽतीतशकवत्सराः नगनगेषु चन्द्रमिताः ॥१५७७॥

९०. अतः परं नरसिंहदेवभ्रातृपुत्रो गङ्गाधरदेवनामा राजा बभूव । असौ स्वपितृव्येन व्यापादितः । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः एक-

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576. शाबाद-पादुका M.

577. जाजीपुर M.

578. This whole sentence is missing in L. and has been restored from the MS M. The name of the king as given in M. is, however, सावाद-पादुषा ।

579. After the word राजा there is a misplacement of at least one palmleaf in the MS 'M' so that the matter from here upto the beginning of the paragraph No. 94. appears much later (Register page Nos. 349-351) in the paper transcript. The text continues here with the words °मयचतुष्टयं रत्नसिंहासने स्थापितम् which is a part of paragraph 94.

वर्षम्[५८०] ॥१॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वसुनगतिथिमिताः ॥१५७८॥

९१. अतः परं नरसिंहदेवकनिष्ठभ्राता बलभद्रदेवनामा राज्यं कृतवान्। अस्य राज्यावसरे अरण्यमध्याद् एकदन्तहस्ती आगतः पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे गृहीत्वा स्थापितः। अनेन राज्ञा बलभद्रपुरनामक ब्राह्मणाग्रहारः कारितः। एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः अष्टौ वत्सराः। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः रसवसुतिथिमिताः ॥१५८६॥

९२. अतः परं मुकुन्ददेवनामा राजा बभूव। अयं वेश्यापरदारासक्तो बभूव। नानाप्रकारानीतिमार्गे प्रवृत्तवान्। तदकर्म[५८१] दृष्ट्वा राजकीयैः सचिवैः सनागरैर्विचार्य राजानं बन्दीकृत्य कपिलभ्रमरवरनामकमन्त्रिवरो यौवराज्येऽभिषेचितः। कतिदिनपर्यन्तमनेन राज्यं कृतम्। ततो राज्ञा दानाद्युपायेन कारागृहान्निर्गत्य ढेंकानालनामक-खण्डराज्याधिपनिकटे गत्वा तत्रैव कियत्कालं स्थितम्[५८२]। कतिदिनानन्तरं तत आगत्य नौकया[५८३] सह वक्रेश्वर-राज्ये गत्वा तदीयदुर्ग[५८४] युद्धं कृतम्। तत्रत्य चर्चिकादेवीबलाद् दुर्गभंगो न जातः[५८५]। तत आगत्य राज्ञा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रस्थनगरे स्थितम्।

९३. अस्य राज्यकालस्य दशमवत्सरे अनन्तसुरखाँआ [=अबू नसर खाँ] नामकयवनेनागत्य श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रमग्निसात् कर्त्तव्यमिति विचार्य आगतम्। मार्गे आगमनसमये अशनिपातेन[५८६] अनेकहस्त्यश्वादिकं मृतम्। तद् दृष्ट्वा राज्ञा साकं संधिं विधाय निवृत्य गतम्[५८७]। अनन्तरं बृहन्मन्दिरोपरि आकाशवाणी बभूव। बरपदानामकदुर्गे दिव्यसिंहरायो निगडे बद्धोऽस्ति। स एव राजा भविष्यतीति। ततः परं याजपुरक्षेत्रस्थनगरे विस्फोटकरोगवशेन राजा कालधर्ममुपगतः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः अष्टाविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२८॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः मनुकला संख्यकाः ॥१६१४॥

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580. वर्षम् L.
581. ततः कर्म M.
582. सन्धितम् M.
583. नूनया L.
584. °राज्ये M.
585. यातः M.
586. अश्वनिपातेन M.
587. निवृत्ति आगतम् M.

९४. अतः परमेतत्पुत्रो दिव्यसिंह[५८८]देवनामा राजा बभूव । अस्य प्रधानसचिवौ रामचन्द्र-परमानन्द पट्टनायकौ । उभाभ्यां रथिपुरनामकदुर्गे राजधानी कृता । तत्रैव राजाभिषेचितः । तत्र गणिनन्दनामानं ब्राह्मणं पौरोहित्ये निमन्त्रितवान् । राज्यकालसप्तमवत्सरे पातिसानामधेयसकाशाद् एकरामखाँआ-सरमस्तखाँआ इत्युभाभ्यामागत्य कटके प्रविष्टम् । तदानीं श्रीजगन्नाथमूर्त्तिचतुष्टयम् अन्तर्वेष्टनप्राचीरान्तः विमलादेव्याः पश्चिमे स्थापितम् । काष्ठमयप्रतिमाचतुष्टयं रत्नसिंहासने स्थापितम् । बृहन्मन्दिरदक्षिणस्थप्रासादान्तर्गतरजतमय[५८९]प्रतिमादिकं योजनान्तरे कोकलाभिधदुर्गे स्थापितम् । तदानीं 'कियत्सैन्यमागतमि'ति राज्ञा प्रेषितेन प्रतिहारिणावकलय्य उक्तम्—भोः, सैन्यमध्ये[५९०] अश्वाः पञ्चविंशतिसहस्राणि २५,०००, दन्तिनो द्वादशशतानि १२००, उष्ट्राः[५९१] सहस्रद्वयं २,०००, पदातयो लक्षमिताः १,००,००० इति । संभूय श्रीपुरुषोत्तम आगत्य बृहन्मन्दिरसिंहद्वारं भङ्क्त्वा भोगमण्डपाभिध[५९२]प्रासादाच्चक्रं गृहीत्वा काष्ठनिर्मितप्रतिमाचतुष्टयं नीतम् । अनन्तरं दक्षिणद्वारं मुद्रयित्वा सर्वसैन्यं दक्षिणविजयार्थं गतः । दक्षिणप्राचीरे[५९३] क्षुद्रद्वारं स्थितम् । तेन पथा[५९४] सेवकैरागत्य रात्रौ भगवन्निवेदनादिकं क्रियते । तदारभ्य जलक्रीडा-रुक्मिणीहरण-विवाहयात्रादिकं[५९५] बन्धीभूतम्[५९६] ।

९५. तुलाराशेर्विंशतिदिवसे कार्त्तिकशुक्लतृतीयायां[५९७] शनिवासरे महतीवात्या[५९८]सहितवृष्टिर्जाता । तदा वात्याबलेन बृहन्मन्दिरस्थध्वजरूपचक्रं प्रासादपश्चिमभागस्थगणेशाग्रे पतितम् । क्षेत्रस्थगृहादिकं भग्नम् । मनुष्याः गवादिपशवश्च प्रायेण मृताः । अनन्तरं महार्घ्यं जातम् । भरणनामकधान्यराशेः पञ्चाशत्कार्षापणानि मूल्यम् । महार्घ्यवशाद् बहु प्रजाः मृताः । अनन्तरं

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588. दिव्यशिंग M.
589. °दान्तरगत इति....मय M.
590. भूसैन्य° M.
591. क्रोष्ट्रा (sic !) M.
592. मण्टपाधिविधो M.
593. प्राचीने M.
594. पता M.
595. यात्राधिकं M.
596. सन्धिभूतम् M.
597. शुद्ध 13 यां M.
598. वाद्या M.

पूर्वं गतेन पातिसाभिधसचिवेन यवनाधिपेन दक्षिणदेशे कालवशं प्राप्ते[५९९] तदीयभ्रात्रा शवं गृहीत्वा परावृत्य[६००] पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रपथा स्वदेशं प्रति गतम्। अनन्तरं राजाज्ञया प्रासादप्राचीरद्वारादिकम् उत्फेटितम्[६०१]। यथापूर्वं रत्नसिंहासने श्रीमूर्तिस्थापनं जातम्। तद्वत्तयात्र[६०२]निवेदनादिकं जातम्।

९६. अतः परम् एकविंशतिवत्सरे वक्रेश्वरराज्यं जेतुं सेनया सह राज्ञा प्रस्थितम्। दुर्गाधिपतिना युद्धं कृत्वा, पराजयं प्राप्य, आगत्य, भगवदग्रे उष्णीषं बहिः कृत्वा[६०३] विज्ञापितम्— भगवन्, चर्चिकादेव्याः बलात् वक्रेश्वरस्य जयो जातः, भवदीयसेवकस्य मम पराजयमिति (sic !)। तदानीं रात्रौ आलम्बानामकदेवीमीश्वराज्ञा जाता[६०४]—'चर्चिकायाः निरोधः कर्त्तव्यः; क्षेत्रे नागमिष्यतीति'। आलम्बादेव्या तथा कृतम्। तदा चर्चिका देवी गत्वा वक्रेश्वरमूचुवती(sic !)—त्वत्सकाशान्मदुपरि भगवत्कोपो जातः, सेवानिरोधश्च। त्वया दुर्गं मुक्त्वापगम्यतामिति[६०५]। तेन तथाचरितम्। पुनरपि राजा [राज्ञः, राज्ञे ?] स्वप्नादेशो जातः—राजन्, गम्यताम्। जयो भविष्यतीति। तच्छ्रुत्वा राज्ञा गतम्। द्वाविंशतिवर्षे दुर्गं भङ्क्त्वा राज्यलुण्टनं[६०६] कृतम्। अस्मिन् वर्षे बृहन्मन्दिरे ध्वजरूप[६०७] नीलचक्रं[६०८] स्थापितम्। त्रयोविंशतिवर्षे[६०९A] राजा बड[६०९B]संतदासाभिधमठे लोकान्तरं गतवान्। एतस्य राज्य भोगकालः[६१०] त्रयोविंशतिवर्षाणि ॥२३॥ एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः सप्तत्रिंशदधिकषोडशशतानि ॥१६३७॥

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599. प्राप्तः L. प्राप्ते, though a grammatical blunder, seems to be the original reading which one has unsuccessfully tried to correct in the MS L.

600. परामृत्य M. (from परामृत्य for परावृत्य) M.

601. उत्रेडितं in M. (for उत्फेटितम्)।

602. तन्मतयात्रानिवे॰ M.

603. श्रुत्वा M.

604. जिता M.

605. दुर्गमुक्तम् उपगम्यतेति M.

606. दुर्गं मुक्त्वा राज्यपर्यटनं M.

607. दृढरूपं M.

608. missing in M.

609.[A] त्रयोदशविंशतिवर्षे M.

[B] बोड M.

610. एकविंशतिभोगकालः M.

९७. अनन्तरं गोपीनाथ-विद्याधर[६११]नामा राजसचिवः राजवंशीयाननेकान् निहत्य हरेकृष्णदेवनामानं[६१२] राजानम् अभिषिक्तवान् । द्वितीये वर्षे हरेकृष्णपुरनामकब्राह्मणाग्रहारं कारितवान् । गायत्रीदास[६१३]वशीयं नीलाम्बरदासनामानं राजगुरुत्वे नियोजितवान् । असौ शासनमध्ये दानाध्यक्षत्वे नियोजितः । तृतीयवर्षे भगवद्भ्रमरवर[६१४]नामसचिवेन श्रीजगन्नाथकस्य पाकशालामध्याद् भोगगण्डपाभिधप्रासाद[६१५]पर्यन्तम् 'अचिन्तापहण्डं'[६१६] नामकपाषाणमयशालिका[६१७] कारिता । एतत्पितृव्येन धर्महरिचन्दनेन यमेश्वरदेवस्य[६१८] जगन्मोहननामकः प्रासादः कारितः । भगवद्भ्रमरवरनामकसचिवेन लोकनाथ विद्याधरनामकसचिवान्तरस्य राजगृहान्निष्कासनं[६१९] कारितम् । तेन आगत्य रोडंगिनामकदुर्गविशेषे प्रविष्टम् । तदीयमित्रवर्गनीलाम्बरराजगुरोश्चक्षुषोरुत्पाटनं कारितम् । एतस्य राज्ञो राज्यभोगकालः वर्षपञ्चकम् ।।५।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः द्विचत्वारिंशदधिकषोडशशतमिताः ।।१६४२।।

९८. अनन्तरं गोपीनाथदेवनामा राजा बभूव । अयं स्त्रीरतो[६२०] जातः । तं तथाभिधं दृष्ट्वा तदीयसचिवैः संभूय राज्यं कारितम् । एतद्राजनाम्ना तदीयसचिवेन हरिहर-राउतरायनाम्ना गोपीनाथपुरनामकब्राह्मणाग्रहारः कारितः । एतस्य राज्यभोगकालः सप्तवर्षाणि ।।७।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः गोऽब्धिकलामिताः ।।१६४९।।

९९. अनन्तरं तत्पुत्रो रामचन्द्रदेवनामा राज्यं चकार । अनेन स्वसचिववेणुभ्रमरवरनामधेयेन सह सेनां गृहीत्वा कटकस्थयवनाधिपेन साकं युद्धं कृत्वा द्वादशवाटिकादुर्गान्निष्कासितः । अनन्तरं तेन सचिवेन साकं बाणपुरराज्ये गत्वा तत्रत्याधिपस्य श्रीहरिचन्दननामानं [°म्नः] युद्धेन निर्जित्य राज्यं गृहीतम् । ततः

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611. गोपीधर विद्याधर M.
612. °देवानां M.
613. गायत्रीय° M.
614. °भ्रवरु° M.
615, मण्टप प्रासाद° (omits अभिध) M.
616. °पाण्डुक M.
617. पालिका M.
618 M adds hereafter जगन्मोहकस्य° ।
619. राजगृहनिष्करणं M.
620. श्रीरतो M.

आगत्य वक्रेश्वरराज्ये गत्वा तदधिपेन युद्धं कृतम् । कारणान्तरे राजसकाशादागतेन पदातिना वेणुभ्रमररायसचिवस्य शिरोहरणं कृतम्। ततोऽनन्तरं वक्रेश्वरराज्ये युद्धं कृत्वा, पराजयं प्राप्य, खुरुधाराजधानीमागत्य, सैन्यं संपाद्य, पुनरपि वक्रेश्वरेण युद्धं कृत्वा तदीयदुर्गभंगः कारितः। अनन्तरं राज्ञा तदीयराज्यं गृहीतम्। कालवशेन वक्रराज्येश्वरश्रीचन्दनस्य शिरोहरणं कृतम् ।।

१००. अतः परं कतिकालानन्तरं कटकराजधानीस्थितयवनाधिपमत्तमतखाँआ-नामधेयेन कूटादिना राजा धृतः। अनन्तरं डमपडा[६२१]भिधराज्ये, बाँकीनामकराज्ये तदधिपौ[६२२] स्थापितौ। तदनन्तरं खुरुधानामकराज्ये पुरुषोत्तमादारभ्य राहांगलेम्बाइ[६२३]-शिराइ-चतुर्विंशतिकुद-चतुष्टयपरगणाभिधेषु अष्टादशसंख्यकदुर्ग निवेशनं कृत्वा तेषु पदातयः स्थापिताः। अनन्तरं पाटिआ[६२४]भिधराजानमानीय गजपतिसिंहासनेऽभिषेचितः।यवनाधिपभीत्या राजसचिवैर्विचार्य सेक [शेख ?] नामकयवनसचिवं वशीकृत्य, तदनुमत्या श्रीजगन्नाथकमूर्त्तिचतुष्टयं बाणपुरराज्ये नीत्वा हंतुआड-नामक ग्रामे स्थापितम्। पुनरपि भयेन ततो नीत्वा 'कोदला-आटुगड'नामकराज्यस्थ 'मरदा'भिधग्रामे स्थापितम्। रामचन्द्रदेवराज्यकालमध्ये पाटिआराज्यस्थपद्मनाभदेवेन वर्षचतुष्टयं राज्यं कृतम्। अतः परं पश्चिमतो नागपुरान्[६२५]महाराष्ट्रसचिव-बुधाजिभोसलाभिधसैनिकेन छोटनाथनामधेयेन[६२६] आगत्य रामचन्द्रदेवं राज्ये स्थापयित्वा, श्रीजगन्नाथमूर्त्तिचतुष्टयमानीय, बृहन्मन्दिरे रत्नसिंहासने स्थापयित्वा, अन्ननिवेदनादिकं यथापूर्वं कारितम्। ततः किञ्चित्कालानन्तरं राजा कालधर्ममुपगतः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः एकादशवर्षाणि ।।११।। एतद्योगेऽतीतशकाब्दाः षष्टचधिकषोडशशतमिताः ।।१६६०।।

१०१. अतः परं रामचन्द्रदेवपुत्रो वीरकेशरिदेवनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान्। एतत्समये गौडदेशाद् अलावदीखाँआ[६२७]नामकयवनाधिपेनागत्य, महाराष्ट्रैः साकं युद्धं कृत्वा, पराजयं प्राप्य, बंगोत्कलदेशयोः चतुर्थांशो लिखित्वा दत्तः। तद्दिनावधि

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621. डोबंडा (डोंबडा ?) M.
622. तदधिका M.
623. दाहुग्न-वेंबायि° M.
624. पट्टा° M.
625. नाकपुर° L.
626. चोट नामधेयेन M
627. ग्रालारतिभो° (?) M.

महाराष्ट्रैः राज्यं कृतम्। अनन्तरं पुनरपि तेनैव यवनाधिपेन महत्या सेनया साकमागत्य कटके प्रविश्य, राजानं सत्कृत्य, श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे आगतम्[628]। समुद्रे स्नात्वा, प्रासादबाह्ये प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा, कटकमध्ये गतम्। अनन्तरं राज्ञा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे आगत्य, भगवद्दर्शनं कृत्वा तत्रत्यनगरे स्थितम्। कतिदिनानन्तरं राज्ञा[629] खुरुदानामकराजधानीं प्रति गतम्[630] ।।

१०२. अनन्तरमष्टमवत्सरे राजमात्रा प्रासादमध्यस्थनृसिंहदेवस्याग्रे मुक्तिमण्डपनामकजनाश्रयः कारितः। नृसिंहदेवमन्दिरे सुधालेपनं कारितम्। अनन्तरं त्रयोदशवत्सरे मार्गशीर्षपञ्चम्यां महावातबलेन देशस्थगृहवृक्षाः पशुमनुष्यादिकं नष्टम्। बृहन्मन्दिरस्थनीलचक्रस्य वक्रिमा जाता (तः)। मुखशालिनामक तदग्रप्रासादस्य चक्रं[631] भूमौ पतितम्। राजाज्ञया तदिव सचिवैश्चक्रं निर्माय प्रासादोपरि स्थापितम्। राजमाता हरेकृष्णपुरग्रामपश्चिमे पुष्करिणीं कारयामास ।।

१०३. अनन्तरं राजाज्ञया श्रीधरपट्टनायकनामसैनिकेन गत्वा बाँकिनामकराज्याधिपं गृहीत्वा, आगत्य खुरुधादुर्गे कारायां निवेशितः। सप्तदशवत्सरे राजा बाणपुरदर्शनार्थं गतः। अस्मिन् वर्षे तदीयसैनिकेन गर्णसिंहाभिधेन बृहन्मन्दिरपरितो भूमौ पाषाणबन्धनं[632] कारितम्। ऊनविंशति[633]वर्षे पश्चिमस्थनाकपुरनामकराज्याज्जानुजीभोसला - मोहनसिंहनामकमहाराष्ट्रौ भगवद्दर्शनार्थमागतौ। तन्मध्ये श्रीगुण्डिचायात्रादर्शनानन्तरं जानुजीनामकः स्वराज्यं गतवान्। मोहनसिंहनामा वेदनया[634] कालवशं प्राप्तः। तदीयद्रव्यादिकं राजाज्ञया[635] सैन्येन रामजीतिनामधेयेन आनीय राज्ञे रार्मापितम्[636]। विरोधवशेन श्रीक्षेत्रम् उत्सन्न[637]प्रायं जातम्।

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628. आगत्य M.
629. राजा M.
630. गतः M.
631. मुखनामशालिकातदग्रप्रासादस्थचक्रं M.
632. पाषाणमन्दिरं M.
633. एको विंशति° M.
634. देवनया M.
635. राज्ञाया M.
636. अपि स्थितम् M.
637. उत्पन्न° M.

१०४. अनन्तरं कतिकालानान्तरं ज्येष्ठराजमहिष्या बृहन्मन्दिरे सुधालेपनं कारितम्। रत्नसिंहासनोपरि मण्डपः[६३८] कारितः मन्दिरगर्भभूमौ नीलपाषाणबन्धनं कारितम्। भगवतो दोलायात्रार्थं वेदिकायां तोरणं निर्मितम्। राजमातृपत्नीसचिवादिभिरनेकप्रासादपुष्करिणीवाप्यादीनि कृतानि। ततः कालवशेन राजा स्वर्गं गतः। अस्य राज्यभोगकालः त्रिचत्वारिंशद् वर्षाणि ।।४३।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः वह्निशून्यघनमिताः ।।१७०३।।

१०५. अनन्तरमेतन्नप्ता दिव्यसिंहदेवनामा राज्यं शशास। तृतीयवर्षे भगवद्दर्शनार्थं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे आगतवान्। दर्शनं कृत्वा श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे स्थितम्। एतदवसरे नागपुरात्[६३९] चेमनाजी भोसलाभिधेनागत्य दर्शनं कृतम्। राज्ञा सम्मानं कृतम्। तदीयगुरुणा गोविन्दाभिध-ब्रह्मचारिणा नरेन्द्रेन्द्रद्युम्न सरसोः पङ्कोद्धारणं कृत्वा परितः[६४०] पाषाणघटितप्राचीरं[६४१] कारितम्। कोणार्कक्षेत्राद् अरुणस्तम्भमानीय सिंहद्वारे स्थापितम्। बृहन्मन्दिरे सुधालेपनं कारितम्। 'अलसा'नामकग्रामस्थारामे सत्यवादिनः स्थापनं[६४२] कारितम्। राजा वेदनया कालधर्मं प्राप्तवान्। एतस्य राज्ञो भोगकालः अष्टादशवर्षाणि ।।१८।। एतद्योगे गतशकाब्दाः शशिलोचनघनमिताः ।।१७२१।।

१०६. अतः परमेतत्पुत्रो मुकुन्ददेवनामा राजा राज्यं कृतवान्। एतस्य द्वितीयवर्षे नाकपुरात् मात्रा सह मनिआबापुसाहेबेनागत्य[६४३] श्रीजगन्नाथदर्शनं कृत्वा कञ्चित् कालं कटके स्थित्वा स्वदेशं प्रति गतम्। एतस्य राज्ञो दशमवर्षे दक्षिणदेशाद् एंगरेज[६४४] नामकहूणाधिपेन आगत्य महाराजाय लक्षपरिमितरजतमुद्राः दत्ताः। तदागमनं दृष्ट्वा महाराष्ट्रैः[६४५] पलायितम्[६४६]। हूणाधिपेन कटकनगरस्थद्वादशवाटिकादुर्गे प्रविश्य राज्यं गृहीतम्।

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638. मण्टपः M.
639. नाकपुरात् L.
640. missing in L.
641. प्राचीनं M.
642. सत्यवादिनं (for सत्यवादिनः स्थापनं) M.
643. मनया बाबुसहागत्य M.
644. इंगिरीजि M.
645. महाराष्ट्र M.
646 पराजितम् M.

१०७. अतः परं श्रीमुकुन्ददेवमहाराजेन दुष्टसचिवकुमन्त्रणया हूणाधिपैः साकं[647] विरुध्य योद्धुमारब्धम् ।[648] अनन्तरं हूणसैन्यैरागत्य खुरुदाख्यदुर्गे युद्धं कृत्वा दुर्गजयं [sic !] कृतः । राजा पलायितः । कतिदिनानन्तरं राज्ञा हूणाधिपेन मेलनं कृतम् । हूणाधिपेन राजकुमन्त्रिणे फाशिनामक प्राणान्तदण्डो दापितः । राजा च मेदिनीपुरनगरे स्थापितः । कतिकालानन्तरं राजानमानीय श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे रक्षितः । अनन्तरं षोडशवर्षे राजसचिवेन जगद्बन्धुविद्याधरेण उत्कल[649]देशीयपदातिभिः[650] साकमागत्य, श्रीपुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रे प्रविश्य, स्वल्पावशेषहूणसैन्यं निष्कास्य, तदीयगृहादिकम् अग्निसात्कृतम् । अनन्तरं कटकाधिपत्यहूणाधिपेन अग्नियन्त्रादिकं गृहीत्वा आगत्य जगद्बन्धुविद्याधरस्य निष्कासनं कारितम् । तदनन्तरं महाराजा नीत्वा हूणैर्द्वादशवाटिकायां स्थापितम् । अनन्तरं कतिकालानन्तरं स्वपुत्रं राज्येऽभिषिच्य[651] द्वादशवाटिकादुर्गे राजा कालधर्ममुपगतवान् । अस्य राज्यभोगकालः विंशतिवर्षाणि ।।२०।। एतद्योगे अतीतशकाब्दाः एकचत्वारिंशदधिकसप्तदशशतानि ।।१७४१।।

१०८. अनन्तरं रामचन्द्रदेवो राजा बभूव ।। इदानीं भोगयुगाब्दाः एकविंशत्यधिकनवशतोत्तरचतुःसहस्रपरिमिताः ।।४९२१।। एतन्मध्ये राज्ञामेकोनशतेन भुक्तकालाः षट्पञ्चाशदधिकसप्तशतोत्तरचतुःसहस्रपरिमिताः ।।४७५६।। राज्ञामभावे रक्तबाहु-कलापहाडादिभोगकालः पञ्चषष्ठ्य[652]धिकशतं वत्सराः ।।।।१६५।। उभययोगे भोगयुगाब्दाः व०[653] ४९२० ।। राजभोग कालमध्ये महाराष्ट्रैर्भुक्तवत्सराः पञ्चषष्ठि (°टि) मिताः ।।६५।।

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647. सायं M.

648. विरुध्यो धूमारब्दम् M.

649. औत्कल L.

650. पदाति M.

651. अभिषेच्य L.

652. Both L. and M. have पञ्चषष्ठ्य° । So also in the last sentence.

653. stands probably for वर्षाणि । missing in M.

English Transalation of the Text

KAṬAKARĀJAVAṂŚĀVALIḤ

The Legendary History from the beginning of the Kali Age

1-A. [May it be auspicious through the grace of] Śiva. [Till now] there have elapsed 4921 years of the age of Kali ; [in words] the Moon (1), the eyes (2), the forms of God *Vāyu* (49). Several Kings have ruled (lit. gone) during this period. The period of reign of everyone of them is being mentioned (lit. written). To start with, in the beginning of the present Yuga (i. e., Kali) there is a period of 12 years of the reign of the sovereign ruler *Yudhiṣṭhira.* Thereafter his grandson, the sovereign ruler *Parīkṣit,* ruled (the earth). He protected the subject like his offsprings. His period of rule is 757 years ; or mountains (7), arrows of Cupid (5), mountains (7).* Having added this [figure], the years of this age come to 769. Thereafter his son Mahārājā *Janamejaya* ruled the Kingdom. His deeds etc. are narrated in (lit. attested by) the *Mahābharata.* His period of reign is 512 years. On adding this, the bygone years of this age come to 1281. After him his son named *Saṃvara* became the king. Considering the force of the Kali age, he acted in consonance with it. The duration of his rule is 410 years. Adding this, the elapsed years [of Kali age] come to 1691.

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* This system of denoting numerals with the help of conventional expressions like Brahman (0), Moon (1), Eyes (2), Fires (3), Vedas (4), etc., has not been translated further.

B. After him his son named *Gautama* ruled. His period of reign is 373 years. Adding this the elapsed years [of Kali] come to 2064. His son *Mahendra Deva* ruled [the earth] after him. His period of reign is 215 years. Adding this the consumed years come to 2279. After him a person named *Ṣaṣṭhi Deva* became the king. His duration of reign is 134 years. Adding that, the elapsed years of this age come to 2413. Thereafter his son *Śaśāṅka Deva* assumed the kingship. The period of his reign is one hundred and a half (150) [years]. Adding this, the passed years of this age come to 2563. Thereafter a person named *Vajranābha* ruled [the country]. He was very brave and defeating the enemy kings, he conquered their kingdoms. His period of reign is 117 years. Adding that the elapsed years of this age come to 2680. Thereafter his son named *Śara-Śaṅkha Deva* became the King. He was very brave. His period of reign is 115 years. Adding this the number of passed years come to 2795. Thereafter someone named *Haṃsa-deva* became the king. Muslims from Kashmir came, waged war with him and went away after defeating him. The duration of his reign is 12 [years]. Adding this the elapsed years come to 2917. After him came about the birth of *Bhojarāja*. His deeds etc. are well-known to the people (in the world). His period of reign is 127 years. Adding this the number of elapsed years [of Kali] come to 3044 years.

History of India from Vikramaditya onward

2-A. After 3044 years of the Kali era had passed, *Vikramārka* was born. He brought eight Vetālas (spirits) under his command. Through the favour of Vetālas, he obtained a marble and a pair of Sandals. [By virtue of the former] he was able to keep under check the effects of fire and

water and [by virtue of the latter] he could traverse a distance of one hundred Yojanas wihin a day. Upon being annointed as king on a throne made of the moon-stone which consisted of 32 steps and was embellished with an equal number of female figures carved on it, he mastered many amazing occult sciences etc. Later he came to the Puruṣottama Kṣetra and had a *darśana* of the Lord. Then, when the moment of his death came, he was killed by a Śaka named Śālivāhana. The Śaka era came into existence from [the time of] him (Śālivāhana) only. His period of reign is 135 years. Adding this, the years passed of Kali age upto Vikramārka come to 3179.

B. Thereafter, a King named *Karmarjit* came to the throne. He was devoted to Viṣṇu and ruled his kingdom [from his capital] in Hastināpur. The Mohemmadan King named *Navaranga Shāh* allied himself with many Mlecchas and ousted the King from Hastināpur. Then the king came to Puruṣottama and had a *darśana* of the holy images. After sometime he died. The period of his rule was of 65 years After [the death of] Vikramāditya, from the commencement of the Śaka era. there passed the same number of years i. e. 65.*

C. Hereafter the son of Karmarjit named *Vaṭukeśvara Deva* became the King. He was expert in magical lore. By contrivances he conquered various *Yavanas* and *Mlecchas* and incorporated their territories into his Kingdom. He dedicated a number of shrines to gods, and revenue-free villages to the Brahmins. His period of rule [was] of 51 years. Adding this the passed years of the Śaka era come to 116. Thereupon his son named *Tribhuvana Deva* ruled over the

* Add 78 years to the Śaka era in order to get the Christian era.

Kingdom. It was he who accomplished the division ot money in form of *Varāṭaka, Gaṇḍa, Kākiṇī, Paṇa, Dramma* etc. His period of rule lasted for 43 years. Adding this, the years of Śaka era passed hitherto become 159. Thereupon his son named *Nirmala Deva* ascended the throne. He fought with the *Mlecchas* coming from the country of Sindh but was defeated and had to escape. His period of rule was 45 years. Adding this, the number of already consumed Śaka-years come to 204. His son *Bhīma Deva* became the ruler [after him]. He also toured extensively in many countries, conquered the kings and took possession of their territories. His period of rule was of 37 years. Adding this the Śaka years passed hiherto become 241.

History of Orissa from the earliest times

3. Thereafter a king named *Śobhana Deva* ruled [this country]. During his reign the king of the Mlecchas named *Raktabāhu* came by the sea route on ships with his army consisting of elephants and cavalry etc. He landed at the outskirts of the kingdom of Kanaka (?). While he was navigating through the ocean, the wastes (dung) etc. of his elephants and horses came floating to the part of the ocean which lies agains Svargadvāra in Puruṣottama. Having seen this the king and the ministers counselled among themselves and removed the image of Lord Jagannātha to a village named *Gopalī* in the kingdom of Suvarṇapur (Sonepur). It was kept in an underground house which was made of stone and was neatly white-washed. They covered the chamber with earth etc. and planted a Vaṭa tree on it. The Sevakas of the temple proceeded to other countries (regions) and the king entered into the forest. Thereupon when Raktabāhu came to Puruṣottama Kṣetra and found the temple vacant, he though that the ocean itself had betrayed

his approach [to the Temple authorities]. He was so angry with the ocean that he threw a fire-arm called *Guṇḍa* into it. Then the ocean receded upto an extent of two *krośas* from the strand. "The ocean has fled away", so thought (King Rakabāhu) and entered into the ocean with his army. Then the ocean surrounded [the herds of Raktabāhu] like a moat and killed Raktabāhu together with his army by its waves. The currents of the water went upto the Kingdom of *Daśapalā* and rebounced from there. While it came back, a pit having an expansion of 10 Yojanas got dug up through the force of water and this pit became popularly known as Chillikā (lake). The king died amidst the forest. His period of rule was of 4 years. Adding this, the [Śaka] years passed uptil now are 245.

4-A. Thereafter a King named *Candra Deva* became the ruler. Once again the Yavanas came from the city of Delhi, generated trust in the heart of the king with their peaceful and pleasant behaviour, brought the king from the midst of the forest [to the City?] and murdered him through tricks. This King ruled for five years. Adding this, the number of Śaka years passed till now come to 250.

4-B. Hereafter the country came under the sway of the Yavanas. At that time the Brahmins etc. mostly migrated to other countries. The Puruṣottama Kṣetra became almost deserted. The period of rule of the Yavanas is 146 years. Adding this, the śaka years [passed hitherto] come to 396. The period during which the holy image remained in the Gopalī Village of Sonepur is of one hundred ninety-two years, 192.

The Kesari Dynasty

5A. Hereafter thirtysix Kings of the Keśarī dynasty [ruled the country]. About them there is a legend handed down from the tradition. On the Dhavalagiri (Dhauli) there is a Śiva

temple called Bahiraṅgeśvara. A widowed Brahmin lady worshipped the highest Lord (Śiva) there and requested [the Lord] daily to grant her a son competent to protect the earth and the one who should be originator of a royal dynasty. Once Lord Śiva got pleased and sported with her. After the sport [He] asked [her] to opt for a boon. She said : "Give me a ruler son if you are pleased with me". Then the Lord ordered : "In the backyard of your residence there are ripe Banana fruits. There shall be so many rulers in the dynasty with their successive sons and grandsons etc., as many fruits you are able to eat [at a time]." She acted in the same manner and was able to take 36 Bananas. So many rulers were born [in this dynasty].

5. The first born [of all these] was Jajāta (Yayāti) Kesarī. Having seen him the people of the place asked his mother; "You are a widow. With whose contact has this son been born [to you]" ? She replied, "Who is here in my house ? With the contact of oil, of course", so declared she pointing [towards the temple lamp]. Then immediately at this point the Lord [appeared and] taking her [with Himself], entered into his Śakti (i.e. the round base of a Śiva Liṅga signifying Pārvatī). The persons present there were ordered by an etherial voice that this [boy] shall become a King. The people present there brought him to the old capital [of Orissa] situated in the Yājapur region. After sometime through the grace of Lord Śiva he became the King. So is the old legend.

6. Yayāti Keśarī attained the rulership of the Yājapura region. First time when the Yavanas [came to fight with him, they were defeated and] fled away leaving his Kingdom [in peace]. Then the Brahmins of that place (i.e., Yājapur) requested

unto him: "O King, after a long time there comes at the Puruṣottama Kṣetra a moment auspicious for bathing in the Southern Ocean which is known as Govinda Dvādaśī." Having heard this, the King came to Shri Puruṣottama Kṣetra along with the Brahmins. He took bath in the sea on the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna, at the juncture of the Govinda Dvādaśī, performed many meritorious acts and gave donations etc. Hereafter seeing the Kṣetra almost deserted and the temple broken, he asked the mendicants (saṃnyāsins) and the Brahmins etc: "Oh, [it is a pity that] the temple has almost crumbled down. Where is the holy image of the Lord placed [at present]"? Having heard this, they replied: "When [a person] named Raktabāhu came, on that occasion [the image] was taken away and has been kept since then somewhere in the Kingdom of Sonepur. This we hear from tradition." Having heard this the King went there. Arriving there he called the local people to him and asked [them]: "Where have you heard that the image of Lord Jagannātha has been kept?" They said, "We have not heard about it". Thereupon he summoned the warrior chiefs to himself and asked, "In which place have you heard the image of Lord Jagannātha has been kept"? They replied, "We have not seen it ourselves, but it was narrated by our grandfathers etc. that they had heard that the holy image existed in the village Gopalī". Having heard this the King went there. Reaching there, he summoned the local people to himself, and asked them, "Where have you heard the image has been placed?" They replied, "We have not heard about it". Hearing this the King lost hope of seeing the holy image, became dejected and went to sleep without taking any food. Then in the night he received an instruction in the dream: "O King,

you should stand on the bank of the lotus-pond tomorrow. An old lady would come to take bath. You should ask her". The King did the same. In the morning an old lady came to take bath. She took bath in the lotus-pond and bowed her head at [the roots of] a Vaṭa tree which stood there a little higher [on the bank]. Having seen this the King asked her why she had paid reverence to the tree. She replied: "My grandfather used to tell that under this tree the image of Lord Jagannātha lies buried after one has brought it from the Puruṣottama. Due to this reason I daily pay my reverence [to this spot]". Having heard this the King summoned Brahmins with axes for cutting the forests and got the Vaṭa tree felled and the place dug up. Thereupon he was pleased to see the holy four statues of the Lord placed in an underground cell which was [properly] white washed. He then made search for the servitors for bringing the statues. Looking for the servitors, he could not find them. Then the King brought this to the notice of the Lord, fasted in the night and went to sleep. Then he received an order in the dream that he should bring a cow, decorate it with gold and precious stones and let it roam about in the country with the declaration that anybody could take away the jewels etc., by killing the cow. This should be declared by beating drums and whosever shall say that "I will do this deed", he should be regarded as the hereditory Sevaka. It is he who shall be instrumental in bringing the Deity back [to the Temple]. Having heard this, the King acted accordingly.

The people accompanying the cow declared beating the drums that whosever wanted to take possession of the jewels etc., might do so by slaying that cow. Thereupon a twelve-year-old child who was playing in sand heard this, came to

his mother and said, "O Mother, the sovereign ruler and the King of Orissa has come to take the Lord [from here]. He has let loose a cow and it is being asked by him, "Who can take [all these jewels] by killing it (the cow)"? His mother said, "Child, you should say that this deed can be performed by me". He went and said on the road as directed by his mother. Having heard this, the protectors of the cow reported it to the King. The King ordered, "Bring the child to me". They went and brought the child together with his mother and produced [them] before the King. The King asked, "Can you [really] do this deed ?" He replied, "My father and grand-father etc., have already done this deed !". The King enquired of him, "You [as one] are staying here, but where are the other sevakas ?" Hearing this the mother of the child said : "They are said to be staying at the village Bāri-Bandhaka in this very state". Hearing this the King sent his servants to that place. Reaching there they made investigations in the village. Five sevakas were staying there. They brought them. Thereafter they wrapped the four statues of the Lord with silken clothes, etc., which had heavily decayed due to the passage of time. The scions of the families of Vidyāpati, those born in the family of Viśvāvasu, as well as the Brahmins of that place assembled with wood-cutters of the forest. Eleven persons in all placed the statues in a palanquin and brought them to the Puruṣottama Kṣetra.

7. After that the [King] enquired of the Saṃnyāsins and Brahmins living in Puri about the ritual of forest-sacrifice and according to the rites prescribed for Vanayāga he got the wood-logs brought from the forest and fashioned the statues.

When the work of fashioning was in progress, more servants were brought (i. e., recruited). Among them were six belonging to the family descended [jointly] from Vidyāpati and Viśvāvasu, three belonging to the family of Viśvakarmā, five forest wood-cutters belonging to the family of Brahmins; thus altogether 14 servants constructed the holy images. The five Brahmins functioning as wood-cutters belong to thẹ Gotra of *Vatsa*. Those known as 'Vidyāpati' belong to the Gotra of *Kauṇḍinya*. The servants descended from the Śabaras are known as *'Dayita'* and belong to the Gotra of *Kauśika*. Four images were thus established in the navel (=central part) of the 'Conch' [=Puruṣottama Kṣetra] in a strongly built stone Temple having five *Śiras* (='head'; turrets, storeys, rāhās or facets?) situated at the roots of the [Akṣaya-] Vaṭa tree. The king summoned the Saṃnyāsins and the Brahmins, etc., residing there (in the Kṣetra) and asked them to offer cooked food, etc., to the Lord according to the rules laid down in the Ancient Ritual Texts. They replied, "This shall be done [only] if the Lord Himself orders us". Then the King appointed various Sevakas to perform different functions. He brought seven previous servants belonging to the Gotra of *Kautsa* and six belonging to the family of Brahmanical wood cutters, thus altogether thirteen (previous) servants. Among them there were three [sevaka-s] known as Paṇḍās; One is known as Garā-Baḍu, another is known as Sūpakāra-Baḍu, yet another is known as Pātrī-Baḍu. One guards the clothes, ornaments and the treasury of the Lord. The cooks are known as 'Sūpakāra' and they were six in numbers. The sum total of these Brahmin servants [was] thus thirteen.

8. On that day the King got the offerings of cooked rice etc., prepared according to the well-established [ancient] proce-

dure, offered it [through the sevakas] to the Lord and asked the Saṃnyāsins and Brahmins to partake of that Mahāprasāda. On that day they went away without accepting the Mahāprasāda, etc. The King, thereupon, communicated this to the Lord and went to bed without taking any food. In the night he received an order in the dream, "Tomorrow again you should offer the cooked rice, etc., as *naivedya* and thereafter invite politely the mendicants and Brahmins, etc., and request them to take it. If they do not accept, then I shall command them [to do so]". [Having] thus [received the orders], the King next day again offered the cooked food, etc., to the Lord by way of *naivedya* as before and having invited the mendicants, etc., told them: "I have received orders in the previous night [from the Lord] that you should partake of the Mahāprasāda". They replied unanimously that they would eat it only if the Lord Himself orders them to do so. "In the age of *Satyayuga* the Lord, personally and with his own words (lit. mouth), ordered Indradyumna to perform the twelve Yātrās (festivals) in the Temple. [In the same manner] if the orders are given to us, we shall take it".

9. When this conversation was going on, a dumb Brahmin came by to have a *darśana* of the Lord. Having seen him the mendicants, etc., said to the King, "Let this dumb fellow enjoy the holy Mahāprasāda. If he starts speaking [after taking the Mahāprasāda], we shall all accept it". Having made this agreement they let [the dumb Brahmin] sit down near the Mahāprasāda and [after he had partaken of it] he was asked to describe its glory. Thereupon the following words came out of the mouth of the dumb person:

"Oh you, who [have the vanity to] consider yourselves to be great scholars but who [in reality] are ignorant of the

meanings of the Vedas and the religious texts, you should not hesitate to accept this piously cooked food which has first been enjoyed by Me and later by my Servitors who are [in fact, cowheards wandering with me in their previous birth as My playmates but are now]cursed to become human beings. Does one not drink the water of Ganges even if it has had association with the pieces of raw meat dripping off from a dead body?"

Having uttered this, the dumb became quiet as before. Hearing this everyone loudly uttered the name of 'Hari', took and ate the Mahāprasāda and wiped his hands on his head. Later the King constructed a temple 38 cubits in height and having consecrated the temple, installed the holy images there (i. e., on the Ratnavedī of the Temple). After this he got the temple of the holy goddess Vimalā constructed. After that he also performed the inauguration ceremony of the construction-activity of the Liṅgarāja Temple at Bhuvaneshwar. The total number of years for which this King ruled are 52 (fifty-two) which, when added to the previous years, form a total of 448 Śaka years.

10. After this his son named *Sūrya Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He endeavoured to complete the construction of the temple of Liṅgarāja. His period of rule lasted for 57 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 505.

11. Hereafter his son called *Ananta Keśarī* ascended the throne. He also proceeded with the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple which had been going on from before. His years ot rule are 40. Adding this, the bygone years of Śaka-era become 545.

12. Thereafter his son named *Lalāṭa Keśarī* became the King. He finished the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple which

was in progress and consecrated it. He established a settlement [around the Temple] in the Kṣetra distributed in seven śālikā (=sāhīs). He also commenced the celebration of the 14 annual festivals (Yātrās) as described in the Ekāmra-Purāṇa. At the time of the completion of the Temple the years of Śaka-era passed till then were 588 that is why it has been said [in a traditional verse]:

"When the years marked with elephants (8), the number eight and arrows (5) of Śaka-era were passed, the temple of the Lord who wears the clothes of hide was got constructed by a Keśarī with Lalāṭa as his forename."

His period of rule was 54 years. Adding this [to the previous ones] the passed Śaka years come to 599.

13. Hereafter *Kanaka Keśarī* assumed the kingship. During the reign of this king there was a rain of gold in the Bhuvaneshwara Kṣetra. The citizens of this Kṣetra utilised that money for constructing a series of temples with Liṅgas in them. The duration of his reign was of 20 years. Adding this [to the previous ones] the Śaka years passed, come to 619.

14. A king whose name was *Nara Keśarī* then came to the throne. He was greatly devoted to Viṣṇu. His period of rule lasted for 12 years. Adding this to the previous ones, the Śaka years passed till now come to 631.

15. After that a King named *Padma Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He was very brave and having conquered many great kings, he annexed their kingdoms. His period of rule lasted for 10 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 641.

16. Hereafter the King *Vṛddha Keśarī* performed the rule. The period of his rule [was of] 15 years. Adding this, the number of Śaka years gone by come to 656.

17. Thereafter *Vaṭukeśvara* Deva became the King. His period of rule was of 11 years. Adding this the number of Śaka years come to 667.

18. After this a King named *Gaja Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He realised a revenue of 5 Paṇas for one Vāṭikā (Bāṭī) of land. In the 5th year of his rule on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra it so happened that the King having performed the Darśana of the Lord sent a messenger to the Priest with the order to finish the Pūjā of the Lord quickly so that he may have the darśana of the Lord at the time of the lustration ceremony (*Vandāpanā*). The messenger went and told [the priest] as ordered. Having heard this the worshippers did as they were told. After the rites of offering incense (*dhūpa*) and lamps (*dīpa*) were finished and the priest set out to offer Naivedya, the Lord became invisible on the inner platform (?) of the Temple so that the priests did not pour down the water from their hands. This caused delay in finishing the worship [of the Lord] which made the King angry. Seeing the King angry the worshipper told him, "At the time of offering the Naivedya, only when the Lord is visible, the water in the hollow of hand is released (i. e., poured down), otherwise not". The king asked, "Do you have a darśana (=vision) of the Lord [in person] every day?" They replied, "Yes, of course". Having heard this, the King placed the worshippers in prison. Then in the night he received a [divine] order in his dream: "O King on the beach of the sea six widowed

Brahmin ladies who are my devotees were playfully performing 'Dāmodara-Pūjā'. I stayed there [yesterday to accept their worship]. That is why my worshipper could not have my darśana. This caused delay in the conclusion of the Pūjā ceremony. The worshippers are not at fault. You should release them". Having heard this order in the dream the King let the worshippers go with great respect. From the next day onward he introduced a new form of [additional] Pūjā ceremony consisting of five Upacāras which is known as Bāladhūpa. From thence onward a Bāladhūpa worship is performed after the morning *dhūpa* (worship). During the offering of the Bāladhūpa, when the incense had already been offered to the Lord, the King asked [worshippers] to stand up while offering the lamps to the Lord. The worshippers did as they were told. Thence onward the Vandāpanā or the lustration ceremony of the Lord takes place while the worshippers are standing. The reign of this King lasted for 12 years. Having added this, the number of Śaka years passed [till now] come to 679.

19. Hereafter a King named *Vasanta Keśarī* ruled over the kingdom. His period of reign is of 2 years. Adding this the total number of Śaka years passed till now come to 681.

20. Hereafter King *Gopa Keśarī* ascended the throne. This righteous [King] protected the subject like his [own] children. His period of rule lasted for 17 years. Having added this the Śaka years passed till now come to 698.

21. Hereafter one named *Bharata Keśarī* became the King. He conquered the Southern regions. His period of rule lasted for 20 yeors. Adding this, the Śaka years come to 718.

22. Hereafter *Kavi Keśarī* became the King. He [also] conquered the Southern regions. His period of reign is of 21 years. Adding this the Śaka years passed come to 739.

23. Hereafter *Kāma Keśarī* performed the rule. He was a pious King who spent large amount of money on donations and on performance of meritorious deeds. His period of reign lasted for 19 years, adding which the passed Śaka years come to 758.

24. Hereafter *Kosala Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He got constructed the temple of Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara and [also] erected a stone embankment around the temple tank. His period of rule lasted for 22 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 780.

25. Thereafter *Caṇḍa Keśarī* ascended the thrown. He became omniscient by the [occult power of] a certain *mantra*. His period of rule is of 21 years. Adding this, the Śaka years become 801.

26. Hereafter *Pracaṇḍa Keśarī* became the King. He was a very powerful ruler. His period of reign is of 19 years. Adding this the Śaka years passed till now come to 820.

27. Hereafter *Dhruva Keśarī* became the King. He was a generous, respectful and learned King who could commit to memory eight different subjects simultaneously recited to him. His period of rule lasted for 10 years. Having added this, the Śaka years gone by come to 830.

28. Hereafter *Vijaya Keśarī* became the King. He was very skillful and compassionate. His period of rule was of 15 years. Having added this the number of passed Śaka years come to 845.

29. Hereafter *Caṇḍapāla Keśarī* became the King. He was very righteous and spent large amount of money by way of donations. He ruled for 18 years. Having added this, the number of Śaka years passed come to 863.

30. Thereafter one *Madhusūdana Keśarī* became the King. This King behaved in an extremely wicked manner and opressed his subject. His period of rule was of 16 years. Having added this the Śaka years passed come to 879.

31. Hereafter *Dharma Keśarī* ascended the throne. He was a man of learning, a great scholar and pious by nature. His period of rule lasted for 10 years. Having added this, the Śaka years gone by come to 889.

32. Hereafter a person named *Jaya Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He was converted to Vaiṣṇavism. His period of rule was of 11 years. Having added this the total number of Śaka years passed till now come to 900.

33. Thereafter a King named *Nṛpa Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He vanquished many kings and annexed [their] territories. In the middle of the river Mahānadī, [their lies] a city named Cuttack. He built a fort named Dvādaśa-Vātikā (Bārābāṭī) in this city. His period of reign lasted for 15 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 915.

34. After him a King named *Marakata Keśāī* became the ruler. He committed extremely wicked deeds. In the city of Cuttack he built a Palace (lit. a Fort) called *Nālabāga* (Lal Bagh) in order to conduct the Royal business. His brother-in-law, Nṛsiṃha Rāya [once] said to the king: "You have indeed constructed a huge (or, important) monument." He (i.e. the king) replied: "You should also do (or, construct) something". Nṛsiṃha Rāya replied:

"If you could give me some money by way of loan, I can also do something. The king having heard this, gave him money and went away on conquest of regions. With that money he (Nṛsiṃha Rāya) constructed a temple on the Dhavalagiri (i. e. Dhavaleśvara) and showed it to the king [after his return]. From that time onward the mountain also came to be known by this name. Having seen this, the king conferred upon him the title of '*Gāṇḍiā Bhāṇḍa*'. When he heard this [title] he felt extremely abashed. Thereafter Nṛsiṃha Rāya got constructed [along Mahānadi] around the city of Cuttack an embankment consisting of stone and having steps [leading to river]. Seeing this the king was extremely pleased. His period of reign lasted for 14 years. Adding this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 929.

35. Hereafter a king named *Tripura Keśarī* became the ruler. He passed his time in full dedication to Viṣṇu. His period of reign lasted for 10 years. Through addition of this, the number of Śaka years passed come to 939.

36. Hereafter a King named *Mādhava Keśarī* became the ruler. He was a mighty king who got constructed a temple of Śiva in the neighbourhood of *Śvetagaṅgā* [water-pond in Puri] called 'Matsya-Mādhava'. He also laid down the foundation of a Fort named Sāraṅgararh in the proximity of the city of Cuttack. His period of rule lasted for 12 years. When added to the previous years, the Śaka years passed till now come to 951.

37. Hereafter [a person] named *Govinda Keśarī* became the King. He was [very] righteous and protected his subject like his own children. His period of reign lasted for 10 years. Adding this to the previous ones, the Śaka years passed till now come to 961.

38. After this a King named *Nṛtya Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. He was very religious. He gave many donations and performed many meritorious deeds. He protected his subject very well. His period of rule lasted for 16 years. Through addition of this, Śaka years gone by come to 977.

39. Hereafter the King named *Narasiṃha Keśarī* performed the rule. He was also very mighty and subdued the kings who were his adversaries. He constructed a special stone For' in the village named *Bāluantā*. His period of rule was of 17 years.. With the addition of this the Śaka years passed come to 994.

40. After this the King named *Kṛpā Keśarī* ruled the Kingdom. His period of rule lasted for 10 years. With the addition of this the passed Śaka years come to 1004.

41. Hereafter a King named *Matsya Keśarī* came to the throne. He built a temple for 'Varāha-Nātha' in the Virajā region. Thereafter he caused to clean the tank named 'Bindu Sarovara' of its slime at Bhuvaneshwar. He also got constructed water tanks known as 'Gupta-gaṅgā, 'Nandā,' and the water outlet famous as 'Aṭhārā nālā' at this Kṣetra. His period of rule lasted for 20 years. Adding this, the total number of Śaka years passed hitherto come to 1024.

42. Hereafter a person named *Ārya Keśarī* became the ruler. Out of one Karṣāpaṇa of land-revenue that his predecessor was receiving as land-revenue, he remitted three quarters and acceped only one quarter (of a Kārṣāpaṇa) for one māna of land. His period of rule was of 13 years. With the addition of this, the passed Śaka years come to 1052.

44. Thereafter a King named *Sānuanta Keśarī* came to throne. He was an expert in magical lore and had accomplished

many Mantras. Once he picked up a dispute with his Brahmin Minister named Vāsudeva Vāhinīpati and told him that whatever he wanted, so would it happen. Vāhinīpati retorted that whatever *he* wished, so would it happen. Hearing this the king expelled Vāhinīpati from his court. Thereupon through the grace of his Iṣṭa Devatā (fovourite deity) Vāhinīpati went to the country of Karnataka, brought [a king] named Cola Gaṅga from there and annointed him on the throne of the Gajapatis. Hereafter Sānumanta Keśarī succumbed to the law of time (i.e. died). His period of rule is of 2 years. With the addition of this the Śaka years passed uptil now come to 1054. [The rulers belonging to Keśarī dynasty came to an end with this]. The Total period of rule of these 36 above mentioned kings come to 658 years in all.

The Ganga Dynasty

15. 1054 years of the Śaka era had passed when the family of the Gaṅgas assumed the throne after [the ouster of] the Keśarī dynasty. On this occasion a certain Brahmin named Vāsudeva Vāhinīpati who had attained a boon (occult powers) due to the accomplishment of a Mantra, went to the country of Karnatakas and brought [a king] named *Cudaṅga* (Chodagaṅga) to the country of Utkala and annointed him on the throne of the Gajapatis. The Vāhinīpati himself became the [Chief] Minister. He was well-versed in magical lore. This King established a ward in the city [of Puri] which was meant for the habitation of all the four castes. Also a tank was excavated by him. He ruled for 20 years. Adding this, the total number of Śaka years come to 1074.

46. After him the king named *Gaṅga-Sūra* ascended the throne. He ruled the region stretching from the bank of Godāvarī [in the South] to the bank of Ganges [in the North] as a sovereign ruler. Later when he indulged into injustice due to the effects of time (destiny), he constructed a tank named Kosala-Gaṅgā for atonement [of his sins]. After some-time he died. He ruled for 14 years. Adding this, the Śaka years come to 1088.

47. After him a king named *Ekajaṭā Kāmadeva* came to the throne. He adopted the Vaiṣṇava faith. He got placed the holy icon [of the Lord] in that part of the City which is known as Cuḍaṅga-Sālī (=Chudanga-sāhī) in the Puruṣottama Kṣetra and inaugurated the building activities for construction of a big temple on the mountain of Nīlādri. From that time onward there started the practice of offering of uncooked food to the image of the Lord. The period of rule of this King was of five years. Adding this, the number of the passed Śaka years upto this point come to 1093.

48. Hereafter a King named *Madana Kāmadeva* became the ruler. He carried on the building activities of the great temple and constructed another temple for a statue of Viṣṇu which is known as Alāranātha and is situted at a distance of about eight miles towards the West of Śrī-Kṣetra. His period of rule lasted for four years. Adding this, the number of passed Śaka years come to 1097.

49-A. Thereafter the rule of the King *Anaṅga Bhīmadeva* started. He constructed (finished?) a temple having a height of 100 cubits. When the top portion of the Temple was to be covered and a stone containing the figure of a lion was to be placed in the East-West direction [on the upper portion of

the temple] the stone became crooked. A lot of efforts were made but the stone could not be placed in the correct and straight position. Seeing this, the King was surprised in his heart. He stated all this to he Lord. Upon this an order was given by the Lord to *Hanumān* in his form known as *Masāṇī* (i.e. the Hanumān living in cremation grounds). He came in the night and placed the stone which was carved as a lion in the straight manner. [Next day] observing that feat, not possible for human beings, everyone was astonished. He also constructed a hall known as Mukhaśālā in front of the Temple. The consecration of this temple was performed by a mendicant named Paramahaṃsa Ratha Vājapeyī belonging to the clan (Gotra) of Ātreya. Immediately thereafter he placed the holy image of the Lord of the Worlds inside the great Temple on a Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha. At this time the Śaka year running was 1119. That is why it is said [in a traditional verse] :

> "In the Śaka years marked by Randhra (rather : *Ratna*= jewels=nine), Moon (one), the master of beauty (Moon ?), the chief of the constellations (=moon=1), the temple was constructed by the wise king Anaṅga Bhīmadeva."

49b. Then the King appointed mainly 15 Sevakas belonging to the Brahmin Caste and another 15 belonging to the caste of Śūdra, thus altogether 30 servitors for rendering service to the Lord. He also re-instated the rite of offering cooked Mahāprasāda [to the Lord]. He also constructed the temple of Vimalā Devī, the mother of the world. [In addition to that] he constructed a series of temples dedicated to the side-deities and the important deities of the Kṣetra. In the same

manner he constructed more than 80 wells and step-wells. He [also] founded 20 numbers of Brahmin Villages (i.e. villages exclusively or mostly inhabitated by the Brahmins). His period of reign lasted for 27 years. Adding this, the bygone Śaka years come to 1124.

50. Hereafter [a person named] *Gajeśvara* (Rāja Rājeśvara) * became the king. He also constructed step-wells, wells and ponds etc. in Śrī-Kṣetra and elsewhere. His period of reign lasted for 35 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed uptil now come to 1159.

51. Hereafter the King named *Salāṅgūla* (=tailed) *Narasiṃha Deva* came to the throne. He started construction of a temple at the Kṣetra of Koṇārka. He assigned the task of the construction of the temple to his minister named Śivāi Sāmanta Rāya and himself proceeded to conquer the Southern regions. Arrived there, he conquered the region upto Godāvarī [River] and lived there for 12 years. Coming back from there, he got the temple consecrated and established there a three-fold image of Lord *Vivasvān* (the Sun God) in the form of a 'stone-Brahman' (lit. Jewel-Brahman ; this is in contrast to the 'Dārubrahman' of Śrī-Kṣetra). At that time the Śaka years already passed till then were 1200. That is why it is said [in a traditional verse]:

"The King Sapuccha Narasiṃha, the Lord of the Earth, got constructed the temple of the Sun God in the Śaka year 1200."

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* The letters *ga* and *rā* look similar in Oriya script and may be confused for each other.

The period of reign of this king was 45 years. Adding this, the total number of Śaka years passed uptil now come to 1204.

52. Hereafter the king named *Kavi* (Poet) *Narasiṃha-Deva* came to the throne. In his times on the occasion of the Car Festival of the Lord of the Blue Mountain, there used to be constructed six chariots in all for the tumultous journey [of the Deities]. There was a river mid-way on the Great Road. He got it (the river) filled up with sand etc. and carried out the journey of the Deities with [only] three chariots. He also constructed a via-duct (or bridge) named "Eighteen-ducts" (*Aṭhara-nalā*) with pieces of stone near [the place known as] *Ghaṭṭa* (=Maṅgalā Ghāṭ) [on the river Bhārgavī]. His minister Narendra Mahāpātra constructed a tank known as Narendra-Pond. His period of reign lasted for 25 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed come to 1229.

53-A. Thereafter *Pratāpa* (Valiant) *Narasiṃha Deva* ascended the throne. He got constructed many step-wells and wells etc. as also donated a number of *Agrahāra-s* to the Brahmins. He ruled for 20 years. Having added this, the number of Śaka years come to 1249.

B. Hereafter a king named *Kavikānta* ('poet and beautiful', 'beautiful among poets' or 'the master of poets') *Narasiṃha Deva* became the king. He ruled for two years. Adding this, the Śaka years passed come to 1251.

C. Hereafter a king named *Kajalā* (lampblack) *Narasiṃha Deva* came to the throne. He ruled for one year. Having added this the number of Śaka years passed come to 1252.

D. Hereafter the king named *Śaṅkhabhānu-Narasiṃha Deva* became the king. His period of rule lasted for 7 years. Adding this, the number of Śaka years passed come to 1259.

The king hereafter bore appellatives of 'Bhānu'.

54. The king *Niḥśaṅka* (dauntless) *Bhānudeva* came [thereupon] to the throne. He was righteous. [Once] when the king came to have a Darśana of the Lord, the servitor known as *Paśupālaka* not finding any *Nirmālya* of the Lord like Tulasī leaves etc., took a garland of *Damanaka* leaves from the head of his son and offered it to the king (in place of the Nirmālya). This Prasāda contained a strain of hair. The old king, therefore, ordered: "Oh, find out whether there are hair on the head of Lord Jagannātha" and departed. Thereupon the servitors assembled together and prayed to the Lord [telling him the incident]. Then in the night the king in a dream received an order of the Lord telling: "O King, there are a number of hair on the head [of the Image]. You should go in the morning and see for yourself". The king became pleased when, the next morning, he could observe them in the manner [as pointed out by the Lord]. He showered honours upon the servitors. The period of reign of this king lasted for 24 years. Adding this (to the previous ones), the passed years of Śaka-era come to 1283.

55. Hereafter a king named *Balibhānu* came to rule. One of his Brahmin Ministers had accomplished a *siddhi* through a certain Mantra by virtue of which he once covered the orbit of the Moon. Consequently there became darkness in that country. Then the king conferred upon the Brahmin the title of 'Moon-Thief-Commandant' (*Candra-Cora-vāhinīpati*) and presented him a piece of cloth. ([illegible])

[as head-dress, turban]. He also established a village for the Brahmins. The period of rule of this king lasted for 21 years. Having added this to the previous ones, the number of passed Śaka years comes to 1304.

56. Hereafter king *Vīrabhānu* came to rule. He conquered his enemies and extended the boundaries of his kingdom even beyond the farther bank of the river Ganges. His period of rule lasted for 19 years. Having added this, the sum total of Śaka years passed till now come to 1323.

57. Thereafter a king named *Kalibhānu* came to the throne. He conquered the Western countries. The period of rule of this king lasted for 13 years. Having added this, the number of Śaka years gone till now comes to 1336.

58. A king named *Mattabhānu* ascended the throne hereafter. He became mad due to the effect of poisonous food. Once in a fit of madness, he ordered that meat [and fish] etc. should be offered to the Lord and remnants be brought to him as *prasāda*. Having ordered this, he went to sleep. Having heard this the Ministers assembled; they summoned the cooks of the Temple and deliberated with them as to what was to be done. The cooks thought over the matter; they offered to the Lord pieces of white pumpkin cooked in syrup. When, after sometime, the king woke up, he was in a sound state of consciousness. He said (lamented), "O, what have I ordered this in a state of ignorance. I have verily committed a great sin". Having realised this he removed the turban from his head, placed it on the jewel-throne in front of the Lord and spoke submissively: "O Lord, I am unworthy of wearing this turban which I have received through your grace. Please favour someone else with [the presentation of this] *Sirpika*". Then.

in the night the king received orders of the Lord in his dream: "You are innocent; you should continue to wear my turban (i. e. should continue to function as the superintendent of the Temple services)". The king thought over the matter and [in order to prevent any such incident in future] he appointed *parīkṣakas* (Oriya *'paricchā'*= superintendents) for the temple affairs. The reign of this king lasted for 23 years. Having added this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 1359.

59. Hereafter a king named *Akaṭā-Avaṭā Bhānu* came to the throne. He was very pious. Once he submitted before the Lord, "I have no male progeny. Whom does your Lordship order me to hand over this kingdom?" Thereupon in the night the Lord ordered him that there was a servant named *Kapila* serving in the household of a certain Brahmin. He would be standing in front of the Goddess *Vimalā* with a pitcher (or utensil) in his hand. The king should adopt him and bring him up [in his palace]. He would become the king later. Thereupon the king [went to the temple of Vimalā and] saw a boy standing there as disposed [by the Lord in the previous night]. He accepted the boy and presented him to the Chief Queen, saying: "The Lord has ordered that this boy should be brought up as our son. He would become the king [of Orissa] after me". The king thereafter dedicated his mind to the Lord and, after a few years, he succumbed to the law of Time (=died). His period of reign lasted for 15 years. Adding this to the previous years of the Śaka-era, the number comes to 1374. Thus ends the description of the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty who are 18 in number. These kings ruled for altogether 320 years.

Rulers of the Suryavamsa Dynasty

60. After this the servant brought up [by the king] assumed the throne under the name *Kapileśvara Deva* whose eulogy is sung by the people through the following conversation between the ocean and the river Yamunā : "O, Kālindī !" "Yes, my dear ! Why should you sing the glory of a mountain inimically disposed towards me, O you hard of heart ?" "Do I really look like *Yamunā* ? What makes you think that I am not the river *Gaṅgā* ?" "Well, [if you are Gaṅgā], why is there a blackish tinge [in your waters] ?" "Because of the falling of tears issuing from the collyrium-smeared eyes of the ladys of the king of Gauḍa region", "What is the reason" ?, "Kapileśvara, The Lord of Elephants, who has moved towards the North in anger".

During this time there lived a companion (of Kapileśvara) named Kāśīdāsa, the son of Vanamālī Dāsa who was a thief and an accomplice of the king when he used to earn his livelihood through thefts. When Kapileśvara became the king he did not give him proper regards. [Kāśīdāsa] then thought to himself : "The king has forgotten me because he is infatuated with his power and wealth. I must do something so that he is reminded of me". Having thus made up his mind he entered into the palace of the king by breaking open a hole and stole away a number of articles. When the king came to know of it, he got the hole measured. It was only 12 *Aṅgulas* in diameter. "There is only one person who can pass through a hole [so narrow as] measuring only 12 *Aṅgulas* and that is Kāśīdāsa". Having remembered this, he summoned Kāśīdāsa to himself and asked what was that done by him. He answered : "You are an old friend of mine but now since

do not take care of me. How shall then I be able to lead my life [and meet my expenses]? Having thought over this, I have done this act in order to remind you of me". Having heard this, the king told him: "You may opt for a wish [from me]". The Brahmin, thereupon, said: "Give me the post of your Chief Priest". The king consented: "All right, I have granted you the priesthood of my family". From that time onward he functioned as a priest in the palace of the king as well as in the Jagannātha Temple and attained the title of *Paṭṭajyotiṣī* ('=The Chief Astrologer', in Oriya *Paṭṭajośī Mahāpātra*).

61. The king got constructed the outer boundary wall of the Jagannātha Temple. Thereafter once when he went to the country of Bengal for taking a bath in the Ganges, he donated a revenue-free village named Tulasīpura to the Brahmins. In the 9th year of his reign he conquered the Western regions and in the 10th year of his rule he took possession of the kingdom of Khemundi. In the 11th year of his reign there was a great inflation. The price for a *Bharaṇa* of peddy shot up to 105 *Kārṣāpaṇas*. In the 14th year of his rule he conquered the country named Mahendra. In the 19th year of his rule the king conquered the rulers of Vidyānagara (Vizianagaram) and annexed the state. In the 23rd year of his rule the king was overpowered (lit. died) by the troubles created by the humour of *Vāta* (i. e. *Melancholia* causing gout, rhematicism, gastric trouble etc.).

[However] in this year he conquered the ruler of the state of Kuṇḍajori, imprisoned his wife and annointed (i. e. coronated) his own brother in-law [named] *Narasiṃha Rāya* as the Ruler of that state. In the 25th year of his reign he was ruling right upto the southern-most point of

Indian peninsula (lit. upto Setubandha). Thereafter he came to the Kṣetra of Puruṣottama, had a *darśana* of the Lord and submitted before him: "Many sons have been born to me. Whom does the Lord command [to become the king after me]?" Then in the night the king received an order in his dream that the kingdom should be given to *Puruṣottama Rāya*. Thereupon the astonished king summoned his ministers and told them: "[Hereafter] Puruṣottama Rāya is going to succeed me. Please bring him up as such". Having said this he went to the state named Kṛṣṇājori taking him along with himself. In the 27th year of his reign the king succumbed to the law of Time. The total period of reign of this king comes to be of 27 years. Adding this to the bygone years of the Śaka-era, the number comes to 1401.

62. Thereafter his son named *Puruṣottama Deva* became the king. He was crowned there itself (i. e. in the South) on the bank of the river Kṛṣṇa Veṇī (Krishnā). He came to the Puruṣottama Kṣetra for having a vision of the Lord and having had a *darśana* of Him, he settled down in the capital situated in the City of Cuttack and ruled from there. [Having learnt the whole affair], other noble (high-born) sons of the family, who were senior to Puruṣottama Deva then deliberated among themselves [and challenging him to a battle] told him that he would be allowed to enjoy the kingdom only if he is strong enough to withstand the strokes of their javelin *Sāvalī*. Having told this, eighteen (18) of his brothers stood before him and struck him [one by one]. [However] due to the grace of the Lord none [of these weapons hurled at him] hurt him. Having noticed that our strokes were of no avail, they thought that he had received the grace (i. e. is favou-

rite) of the Lord and they took recluse (i. e. went away to) in other countries.

62. After sometime, during the 7th year of his rule he constructed a palace named Bhogamaṇḍapa (inside the premises of the Jagannātha Temple). In the 9th year of his rule he got constructed the middle boundary wall of the temple called *Kūrma Veḍhā.* On this occasion the cooks of the temple assembled and submitted before the kings: "Oh king, a particular cook named Dāsamuduli collects remaining portion of the ground pulse (black beans) from the stone mortar, turns it into a ball, bakes it in the fire and offers this burnt cake to the Lord after He has finished His meals, standing behind the Garuḍapillar and takes it thereafter (as the Prasada of the Lord). Having heard this, the king exclaimed, "Oh, what a [foolish] act is he doing!" He appointed a policeman to watch the cook so that he may not offer this burnt cake to the Lord. In the same night he received an order [of the Lord] in his dream: "You have appointed a policeman upon my cook. Therefore, he has not offered me this night my burnt cake. For this reason, I am not satisfied [with my meals]". Having heard this, the king summoned the Dāsamuduli to himself, honoured him excedingly and gave him the post of the Head cook of the Temple. He asked him to feed the Lord by offering him the same type of burnt cakes. He started doing the same.

63. Thereafter when the king once went to the Southern regions, he heard that there was a girl in Kāñcīpuram endowed with the characteristics of a *Padminī* woman. He sent a messenger to bring her [to himself]. The messenger thereupon went to the king of Kāñcīpuram and spoke to him: "O Lord, the Gajapati Sovereign ruler, named

Puruṣottama, desires to accept your Padminī daughter [as his wife]. She may please be given to him". The king of Kāñchi heard this but did not concede to the request [of Puruṣottama]. The messenger came back and told the king that the Lord of Kanchi is not willing to give away his daughter without a battle. Having heard this, the king (Puruṣottama Deva) marched [upon him] with his army and fought a fierce battle. But he could not win. The king then retreated and returned [to Puri] in a very dejected state of mind. He made a supplication to the Lord Jagannātha and without taking any food, he went to sleep in the temple. The *Dāsa-Mahāsūpakāra* (Chief of the cooks) narrated the whole story to the Lord and asked Him how the king of the Kāñchi could be conquerred. Then in the night the cook received an order in his dream from the Lord to the effect : "I myself would proceed [to fight against the king] and the king should follow me from behind. You must tell this to the king". He [the cook] told it to the king in the same manner. Having heard this, the king marched towards the South with his army. Having gone a little ahead the king thought to himself that, "the Lord has ordered me to follow His trail. Has He already set out or not ?" The Lord came to know of the doubt [in the mind to the king]. He bought some curd from a cow-maid named Māṇikī [on the way] ate it and for its price He handed over to her His finger-ring and asked her to get the price from the king by returning him the ring. Thereupon she submitted to the king [when he came by] : "O King, two soldiers [of your army] who were riding black and white stallions respectively, have taken curd from me and have handed over to me this ring (or, seal) having the shape of a fish and set with extra-

ordinary jewels. They have asked me to realise the price of the curd by returning this finger-ring to you. Please take this [ring] and reimburse me the price of my curd". Seeing the ring the king thought that the Lord had already gone ahead. He was extremely pleased at this. He showered great honours upon the lady and [taking the ring from her] kept it in his turban and proceeded further. He then entered into the city of Kanchipuram, fought the battle, won and took away the beautiful girl. From there itself, he [also] brought a statute of Lord Kṛṣṇa which is known as *Satyavādī,* as well as several other images. When he was returning, he thought to himself whether the Lord had already marched ahead of him or not. In the meanwhile a person carrying on the profession of preparing *guḍa* (molasses or jaggery) came to the king and said: "O king, two of your soldiers riding horses bought molasses and raw-sugar etc. from me and [mixing it up with the water] drank the syrup. They have given me this whip as a price for the drinks and have asked me to realise the money from you in return of this whip". Seeing this the king gladly gave him a golden coin and showed respects towards him. He also ordered that from now onward persons of all ranks in the society may drink the water offered by the Guḍa-maker [and his successors].

64-A. While retreating the king camped [on the northern] bank of the Godāvarī [where his soldiers relaxed]. In the meantime, the king of Kanchi [chasing Puruṣottamadeva] appeared in person [on the southern bank of the river]. When the soldiers came to know of this, they refused to fight saying that they had no more strength in their limbs. The Brahmin [Priest of the king], thereupon put his supernatural powers to use. Having learnt of the plight of the

soldiers, the royal preceptor, Godāvarī [śa Mahāpatra] invoked the river-goddess Godāvarī and caused the basin of the river Godāvarī filled up [with waters]. Having seen this [and realised that the Godāvarī has now become unfordable for his soldiers] the king [of Kanchi] went back to his country.

65. Thereafter the king came to Puri, had a *darśana* of the images and had the desire to establish the statute of Satyavādī in the Bhoga-maṇḍapa of the temple. Then in the night he received an order in the dream: "I shall not stay here", whereupon the king established it in his capital named *Caturdvāra* (Chaudvāra) lying on the other side of the river Mahānadī.

The king [first] did not agree to marry the Padminī girl (brought from Kanchipuram). When a number of persons requested him to do it, he married her and kept her in the military settlement (=*Kaṭaka*, i. e. Cuttack) of his capital [outside the palace]. After a few days when the queen had just finished her monthly bath, the foster-mother (*dhātrī*) of the queen told one night: "O king, you had already come once, have stayed here and now are you coming again?" Having heard this, the king was astonished. "What could be this?", thinking so he retraced his steps and went away. In that night the king received instructions from Lord Śiva named Dhavaleśvara: "I have united myself with this girl. She shall give birth to a son who would become a great ruler". Having heard this the king became enormously pleased and he kept the girl with great care and efforts inside his Palace. After sometime a son was born to her. The king performed his birth rites etc. and conferred upon him the title *'Pratāpa Jenāmaṇi'*. Thereafter the king appointed in his court a number of

scholars and wrote a number of works on various branches of learning. In his old age he coronated his son Pratāpa-Rudra-Deva, whom he had brought up [fondly], as the king [of Orissa] and submitted to the laws of Time (i. e. died). The total period of the reign of this king lasted for 25 years. Adding this, to the previous ones the years of Śaka-era passed till now come to 1426.

66. Thereafter his son named *Pratāparudra Deva* became the ruler. In the 3rd year of his reign he got constructed a temple of Śiva named Dhavaleśvara. He also constructed the temple of Goddess Carcikā in the Kṣetra of Yājapura. In the 10th year of his reign (?) he set out to conquer the Southern region and went right upto the point of *Setu* (=bridge, constructed by Rāma). He conquered the kingdom of Vidyānagara (Vizianagaram) and ruled over it as a sovereign. Then in the 13th year [of his rule] there was a great inflation of prices. One *bharaṇa* of paddy started costing 120 *kārṣāpaṇas*. The personal wealth etc. of the king was [once] stolen from his Palace. The king summoned the Buddhist Monks as well as the Brahmins and asked them: "[Tell me], who has taken away my wealth?". The Brahmins did not tell (i. e. could not tell). The Buddhist not only told it [exactly] by virtue of their being the master of *Sarvajñavidyā* (the faculty of being omniscient), but they also restored the stolen wealth to the king. Having seen this, the king showered special honours on the Buddhists and showed neglect towards the Brahmins. The Chief Queen of the king, however, continued to hold the Brahmins in high esteem because in her opinion the Brahmins were to be honoured above all in every respect. To this the king remarked that the Buddhists were by far the

most learned and therefore, more respectable. The queen-consort said that only the Brahmin had the special quality of speech of that sort (with which they could foresee the things and could tell the unseen). When such a discussion took place, the king said that those who could tell what was there inside a covered pitcher, would be considered to be extraordinary and greater than others. Having disposed thus, he got a covered pitcher with a snake inside brought to the Court. The Buddhists told that there was a snake inside the pitcher. The Brahmins, however, said that there was nothing inside the pitcher except ashes. When the covering was removed the people saw that there were really ashes inside. At this the king got convinced that the Brahmins were greater [than the Buddhist] and he started holding them in esteem. He got thrown away the books etc. written by the Buddhists in water. He spared and kept only those Buddhist works which were useful for the whole society, like, for example, the *Amarkośa* composed by *Amara Siṃha* [and the works composed by ?] Jumara (?), *Samarasiṃha, Aketasiṃha, Vīrasiṃha* etc.

67. During his reign Caitanya Deva came from the country of Gauḍa (Bengal) and had a darśana of the Lord of the Blue Mountain. He (Caitanya Deva) showed a form with six arms to the king. In the 7th year of his reign, some Mlecchas named Mughals came and settled near the Fort of Cuttack. The protector of the Fort whose name was *Ananta Sāmanta Rāya* abandoned the Fort of Cuttack and took shelter in the Fort of Sāraṅgagarh. The four statues of the Jagannātha Temple were loaded in a boat and were brought to a mountain cave named *Caḍāra Guhā* on an island in the Cilikā Lake. The Chief of the Yavanas,

called Mughals, whose name was 'Surasthānu' (=Sultan) came to the Kṣetra of Puruṣottama and destroyed some images etc. of the temple. When the king who had gone to the Southern countries for the sake of conquering fresh territories (*'digvijaya'*), heard this, he [speedily] returned and chased the Chief of the Yavanas up to the banks of the river Gaṅgā.

68. After some time, in the 20th year of his reign, the went out to conquer the Fort of Mahendra (Raj Mahendri), conquered the whole group of kings there and fought especially for a long time with the king of Malikā, in which combat a large number of soldiers lost their lives. Thereupon he signed a treaty of peace with him, came back to Cuttack and died after sometime in the 28th year of his reign near the temple of Dhavaleśvara on the 4th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika. His period of reign lasted for 28 years. When one adds this to the Śaka years already passed, it comes to 1454.

69-A. Thereafter his son named *Kāluā* ascended the throne. He had a minister named Govinda Vidyādhara. This wicked minister assassinated him (King) with treachery by getting him involved in a certain game. His period of reign is one year. Adding this, the number of passed Śaka years come to 1455.

B. After him his son *Pratāpa Deva* became the king. His period of reign is (also) one year. Adding this, the number of Śaka years come to 1456.

70. Hereafter the minister *Govinda Vidyādhara* himself assumed the kingship. He killed 32 sons of Pratāparudra Deva. In cuttack, the capital, there lived a brother of the king named Madhu Śrīcandana. He was also killed by him. Whatever old royal servants had been left there, were also eliminated. This king established an *Agrahāra* (Brahmin

Village) named Vīra Govindapura and got excavated a tank there. In the 5th year of his reign, he made an expedition towards the South. With his army were associated the son of his sister named *Raghubhañja Choṭa Rāya* and his minister named *Bāluṅki Śrīcandana*. The king acted against the advice of the two [during his expedition, whereupon they got dissatisfied and returned home]. They came from there to the Puruṣottama Kṣetra, had a *darśana* of the Lord and got the Superintendent (Parīkṣaka) of the temple beheaded. Then they went to the capital Cuttack and stayed there. The protector of the royal fort (or the capital, *kaṭaka*) named *Mukunda Śrīcandana* was staying at the palace/fort named Maṇikhaṇḍa. Having heard the deeds of these persons, the king came back [and launched an attack against them]. When the two learnt the approach of the king, they raised an army consisting of [all the] four wings, crossed the river Mahānadī and fortified themselves in the Village named Citrapur. A battle between the two took place. In the battle Raghubhañja Chotrāya was defeated and he fled away. The king chased him close upon heels right upto the bank of Gaṅgā. In the 7th year of his reign, the king died on the bank of the Ganges. His period of reign is 7 years. Adding this, the Śaka years come to 1463.

71. Thereafter *Cakra Pratāpa Deva* became the king. He launched an expedition towards the South. Before proceeding to South, he entrusted the responsibilities of administering the state upon *Danāi Vidyādhara* who was a minister of the king *Vīra Govinda Deva*. Through his (Mal-) administration one *bharaṇa* measurement of paddy started costing 3½ *kārṣāpaṇa*. Then the king [himself took over the administration and] sent Danāi Vidyādhara to-

wards the Southern regions. Thereafter the king indulged in unfair practices and forced the Brahmins to carry out such jobs as cutting grass etc. He also extorted money etc. from the rich. The subject of his kingdom became extremely sick of him. Thereafter he got his armoury (?) constructed by means of [pure] gold. On the day of his death, he put a rope around the Garuḍa pillar and tied himself to it. On the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in the afternoon the rope incidently snapped, as the destiny would have it. The king fell [on the ground] and proceeded to the other world. Thereafter all the servitors as well as the Superintendent of the Temple deliberated among themselves and took out the dead body of the king through the Western gate. Thence forward this gate always remained closed. The period of reign of this king is of 8 years. Adding this to the passed Śaka years, one comes to the year 1471.

72. Hereafter *Narasiṃha Deva* became the king. He sent persons (=soldiers) to bring back Danāi Vidyādhara who was living in South. In the meanwhile one *Mukunda Haricandana* secretly placed his four brothers in the royal palanquin of the king and announced that the king himself was entering into the inner apartment of the palace. The four brothers thus hidden in the palanquin reached inside the palace and having arrived there, they assassinated the king. This king could rule [only] for one year. Adding this one year to the passed Śaka years, the total number comes to 1472.

73. After him *Raghurāja Deva Jenā* became the king. During the time of his reign Danāi Vidyādhara returned from his expedition to the South. Mukunda Haricandana took him in confidence, brought him to the Fort of Cuttack and got

him fettered there with chains. *Raghubhañja Chota Rāya* who had earlier fled away came back in the meanwhile to Cuttack along with an army consisting of all the four Wings. He fought with Mukunda Haricandana; was, however, defeated in the battle. Mukunda Haricandana put Choṭa Rāya in prison. The period of rule of this king lasted for one year. Adding this, the number of passed Śaka years come to 1473.

74. Hereafter *Mukunda Deva* of Tailaṅga race became the king. He served gods and Brahmins with great devotion. He carried out renovation and repair work etc. on the main temple of Jagannātha at Puri. He constructed the palace (=temple) of 'Jaganmohana' (=added the Jaganmohana part of the temple to the main building?). He also established a Brahmin village (Agrahāra) named *Mukundapura* and excavated a tank there. In the neighbourhood of the tank he established a statute of Kṛṣṇa. Thereafter he proceeded towards North for conquering the regions. There on the banks of the Ganges, he got constructed with bricks a bathing ghāṭ (steps). He also dedicated two bangles studded with jewels to the goddess Gaṅgā. He was able to have a glimps of the hand (wrist) of the goddess Gaṅgā wearing [those] bangles. There (in the Bengal regions) he cultivated friendship with the ruler of Gauḍadeśa. Thereupon he came to his country and had a darśana of Goddess *Varuṇāi* (Varuṇā Devī). There he saw a falcon being attacked and chased by a pigeon. The king became extremely pleased at this and thought to himself that it was definitely due to the characteristic feature of that place that even a weaker being there was able to fight against a stronger being. Having considered this, he got constructed a Fort named *Khurudā* there. He came

[once] from there (i. e. Khurudā) and got constructed [at Puri] the swing-platform (*dolāvedikā*). On the day of Dolāpūrṇimā he placed the three images of Lord Jagannātha on the swing and from thence onward the Dolā Yātrā (Festival of swinging the Deities) came into being.

75. During his reign the Chief of the Muslims named *Kalāpāhāḍa* advanced [towards Orissa]. He brought a bronze drum along with himself.* Having come to Cuttack he attacked the protector of the city named *Koli Sāmantarāya*, killed him in the battle and plundered the city. He also spoiled the racial purity of the royal queens etc. by having contact with them. Having heard this news the king fled into the forests. At this time *Rāmacandra Choṭa Rāya* who was the protector of the Fort of Sāraṅgagaḍha [was invited to Khurudā] and was annointed as the king there. Hereafter a part of the Muslim army went to the place amidst the forests [where the king was hiding] and plundered the royal palace [and capital] etc. Having heard this the Raja fled away. Thereafter in a fight between Mukunda and Rāmacandra Deva, Mukunda Deva (?) fell in the battle. Thereafter Rāmacandra Deva [too] fell and succumbed to the laws of time. His period of reign is of 8 years. Adding this to the passed Śaka years, the number comes to 1481.

76. Hereafter *Govinda Deva* of Gauḍa lineage became the king. In the very first year of his reign, during the swing festival on the fullmoon day of the month of Phālguna, the string holding the swing for Balarāma snapped, the image of Balarāma fell down and broke its arm. Thereupon they

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* It is said that when he beat upon this drum the ears and nose etc. of the stone images within audibility range dropped off.

wrapped [the arm] with silken stripes etc. and placed [the image] back in the temple. After a few days the three statues of Lord Jagannātha were removed by *Divya Siṃha Paṭanāyaka*, the Superintendent of the temple upon the orders of the king to an underground mansion constructed of stone and (properly) whitewashed in the village *Hasti-pattana* lying in the kingdom of Pārikuda. The Muslim forces united themselves and killed the king in the battle. His period of reign is of two years. Having added this to the passed Śaka years, the number of years come to 1483.

77. Hereafter the kingdom came under the rule of the Mohammedan (*Yavana*) *Kalāpāhāḍa* and there prevailed a spell of anarchy. Yavanas ruled over it for 19 years. Adding this, the number of Śaka years passed till now come to 1502. During this period, the Chief of the Yavanas came to know of [the actual location of] the statues from a traitor, went to the place, brought out the four images from the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple and carried them away on elephant back. He plundered the treasure-house of the Lord and also broke a part of the upper portion of the main temple. He also broke the statues of the deities placed in the side-shrines of the temple. He felled the Vaṭa tree called the Kalpa-Vṛkṣa and burnt it down. Thereupon his body broke into pieces. His minister said : "You have experienced this state due to commitment of the sin of burning [the holy images]". Having seen this his son immersed the remaining portion [of the wooden image-s] into the Ganges. While it was floating in the waters a servitor of the Lord named *Visara Mahantī* who was moving around in the guise of a Vaiṣṇava, spotted it, rescued it and having kept it in a drum (*Mṛdaṅga*), brought it [back to Orissa]. After coming to Orissa he kept it in a

village named *Khaṇḍāyita-Kāluā* in the state of Kujaṅga. The country during this period remained without a king (=in a state of anarchy). Taking this time into consideration, the total number of Śaka years come to be 2 more than 1500 (=1502).

The Rulers of Khurddha Dynasty

(The Bhoi Kings)

78. Hereafter upon orders of the Badshah, the Supreme ruler of the Mohammedans, Mahārājā Siwai Jaya Siṃha (sic!) came [to Orissa] for the sake of protecting the *Dharma* and to assess the [political] situation. Having seen the rivers like Mahānadī etc., the Śaivite shrines of Bhuvaneshwar, the ocean and having met and talked to the local Brahmins, he remarked that his presence was not necessary there. Thereupon a *Karaṇa* of this country named *Vīra Beharā* who was a scribe in the court came and met [him]. He had three sons out of whom the eldest one, called Rāma Chandra was annoinanted (=coronated) as king [by the representative of the Emperor]. The second and the third sons became his ministers. Their names were *Dāsa Vidyādhara* and *Chakuḍi Bhramara Vara Rāya.* Jaya Siṃha instructed Rāma Candra to carry out his administration with the help of these two. Having advised him thus he went back to his kingdom. Rāmacandra Deva escorted him together with his brothers upto the city of Midnapur. [There Jaya-Siṃha] directed (Rāma Candra) to return to his country. Since Rāma Candra was reluctant to come back, Jaya Siṃha scolded him saying: "Is it for this purpose that I have given you the kingdom?"* Thereupon the king returned and started ruling his kingdom.

79. After sometime *Dāsa Vidyādhara* and *Chakudi Bhramara-vara* (the younger brothers of Rāma Candra) had a discord with the king. The two brothers joined together, went to *Jaya-Siṃha* and narrated him everything. Thereupon Jaya-Siṃha divided the kingdom into two and alloted half of the kingdom to Rāma Candra and the other half to the two brothers.

The territory enjoyed by Rāma Candra included the places like Rāhāṅga, Chaubis Kudu, Śirāi, Lembāi and Puruṣottama Kṣetra etc. Chakuḍi Brahmara-vara Rāya ruled over the state of Paṭiā as well as the Fort of Sāraṅga-garh. Dāsa Vidyādhara ruled over the territory extending from Khurdhā to Bhuvaneshwar, after he had driven out the Khaṇḍaita (=Kṣatriya) Chiefs of the states known as *Āṭhamalikā.* He also enjoyed suzerainty over the state called *Aṣṭadurga* (Athagarh) lying on the other side the river Mahānadī, He founded a Brahmin village called Dāsa Vidyādhara [-pura].

80. After some time king Rāmacandra Deva who grew exceedingly mighty, renamed the Fort Khurdha into '*Jagannātha Prasāda*' (=the favour of Jagannātha). In the 9th year [of his rule] he went to the state of Kujanga and brought back the portion of the log which had not been consumed by fire. He got new images fashioned following the rites of Vanayāga (fire-sacrifice in forest) and added to it the remaining portion of the older log. He, thereupon, consecrated the images and installed them on the jewel pedestal of the great Temple on the 9th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa.

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* i. e., you should not be absent from your capital for too long a time, nor should you go too far away from it.

He built his capital in the Fort of Khurudhā. In the 12th year of his rule *Todarmalla,* an Officer of the Mohammedans, came and met the king. He stayed in Cuttack and carried out the measurement of the land in the country (for purpose of fixing up revenue etc.). The king conferred upon *Bisara Māhānti* the post of 'Nāyaka (Chief) of (or, at) the Puruṣottama Kṣetra'. For a period of four months the offerings to the Lord did not contain any cooked food. Thereafter he called a meeting of the mendicants and Brahmins and discussed with them [the problem of offering cooked food]. Thereupon he got prepared offerings of cooked food by taking into consideration the injunctions of the Śāstras. Having taken the Mahāprasāda [in his hand] he called the mendicants and Brahmins and asked them to accept the Prasāda. Having collectively deliberated, they accepted it. After taking the Mahāprasāda they wiped their hands on their heads. All hailed the king saying: "This Rāmacandra Deva is the second *Indradyumna* descended [on earth]".

81. After that, upon the commands of the king, the Superintendent (Parīkṣaka) of the Temple whose name was *Mukunda Paṭṭanāyaka* thought over [the problem of proper functioning of the temple]. He called [to Puri] all the hereditory servitors of the Lord who had been associated with the Temple but who had been living in other places till then since the time of the fall of the kingdom of Mukunda Deva [due to destruction of the Temple]. New servitors were employed for other services for which no servitors were available. He, thus, altogether created 36 categories of these servitors which were known as 'Niyoga'. He also enlarged the offerings [to the Lord] by adding different varieties of fried cakes etc. (*pūpa*). He establish-

ed five revenue-free Brahmins villages, the names of which are : *Vīra Ramacandra-pura, Śrī Ramacandra-pura, Vijaya Rāmacandra-pura, Pratāpa Rāmacandra-pura* and *Ubhaya-mukhī Rāmacandra-pura.* He also built palaces (or temples), excavated tanks and step-wells and layed out gardens etc. The period of reign of this king comes to 29 years. Adding this, the Śaka years passed till now, become 1531.

82. Hereafter his son named *Puruṣottama Deva* became the king. In the 4th year of his rule he took [=started the practice of taking] the image of Lord Jagannātha in a carved chariot to the village of *Kapileśvara-pura* for the sake of the Swing Festival of the Deity and brought it back to the great Temple after the end of the festival. In the 10th year of his reign, a certain Chief of the Mohammedens named *Kesarī Khān* came and having entered into the Temple at the Puruṣottama Kṣetra, stayed there. During that time the four images of Lord Jagannātha were there in the Guṇḍīcā house. He burnt down the three chariots whereupon the people brought these statues back to the main Temple in palanquins. The offerings of fruits etc. were made to the Lord for about 8 months. Nobody entered into the Temple. There ensued a battle between the king and Kesarī Khān. A large number of soldiers died there. Then he made a truce with the king and went away. Thereafter the services and offerings to the Lord started taking place as before.

83. Thereupon, after a few years another Chief of the Mohammedans named Hansam (-? Hashim) came to Puri (=approached). At that time the four images of the Lord were removed to the Gopāla Mandira inside the Fort of Khurudhā. The Mohammedens passed away to the South for

conquering the territories there. The images were later brought back to the great Temple of Puruṣottama and kept there. In the 12th year of his rule there came a person named *Kalyāṇa*. Very cunningly he arrested the Chief Minister of the king named *Dāsa Vidyādhara* and threw him in prison. After that the king took the four images of the Lord by a boat to a place named *Maïnsā* and kept them hidden in the midst of the hills. He then measured arms with Kalyāṇa in the battlefield. Kalyāṇa was defeated in the battle and fled away. The king chased him for some distance and then came back. On his return he fought with *Śrīcandana,* the ruler of *Vakra* (Bānkī) and destroyed his Fort. He established his [second ?] capital at Aṭhagarh and appointed Dāsa Vidyādhara to look after the affairs of the state. He started living at a place called *Mahiṣānāsā* in the state of Pārikuda (near Chilka).

84. After some time a Mohammeden named Makaram Khān (?) came to Khurudhā. He entered into the Fort and destroyed the images etc. of that place. The people of the king took the statue of Gopāla named 'Satyavādī' in a boat to the village 'Gavapadara' which is situated in the state of Bānpur and placed the image there. Then, after a few days, the Mohammedens went away whereupon the four images of the Lord were re-installed in the great Temple at Śrī Kṣetra. Then, after sometime, came a Mohammeden Chief named *Subāhu Meda* (=Ahmed ?) *Bega.* Passing through the Puruṣottama Kṣetra he went to the southern regions. Shortly thereafter the king died. The rule of this king lasted for 21 years. Adding this, the number of bygone Śaka years come to 1552.

85. Thereafter his son named *Narasiṃha Deva* came to the throne. At the time of his coronation he came to Puru-

ṣottama Kṣetra and had a *darśana* of the Lord. Previously the umbrella of the Lord was held every time over the king upto his palace while he returned from the Temple. He forbade this. The umbrella was to be held over the king only inside the Temple and nowhere else. It was also a custom that the king used to get dressed fruits and vegetables etc. in raw form [too] from the kitchen of the Lord. This also he forbade. From thence onward only the holy Mahaprasāda in the form of cooked currys, pulses (*Vyañjana*), boiled rice and fried sweet-cakes etc. was to go to the palace of the king for his dinner. It was also customary to offer fish etc. to Goddess Vimalā every day. This also he prohibited. He prescribed it only for the three concluding days during the autumnal worship of the Goddess. He also ordered that everything which is offered to the Lord, such as (=including) fried cakes etc. must invariably be re-offered to the Goddess Vimalā. There was a tradition of organising a Chariot Festival at Bhuvaneshwar. He prohibited it. He cleaned the premises within the boundary walls of Bhuvaneshwar Temple by removing stone boulders of Kāṅgula (?) variety. He also cleaned the Temple from the [dirty] settlement around. At the city of Puruṣottama Kṣetra, he established two new wards or living complexes named *Saptaśālikā* (seven lanes) and *Dvicatvāriṃśat. Śālikā* (forty-two lanes) respectively. He also introduced the festivals of the birthdays of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. He got constructed the swing-pavilion towards the North-East of the main Temple, got prepared an image of Nārāyaṇa called *Dola-Govinda* and started the celebrations of swing festival. At the time of *Anavasara,* it was customary to hang a cloth painting of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He, however, got painted *three* pictures depicting Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Bhuvaneśvarī respectively and placed them [in

the Jagamohana]. It was a tradition with the kitchen to prepare very hard type of *laḍḍūs* (sweet balls) for offering to the Lord. He forbade this. Then in the night the Lord appeared before him in the shape of Man-lion (Narasiṃha) and said to the king: "With this form of mine I enjoy those hard sweet-balls etc." Having heard this the king allowed those things to be offered as before. From that time onward a new *bhoga* called *Nṛsiṃha-bhoga* was introduced [for Lord Jagannātha]. He constructed a royal palace [for himself in Puri] on the southern side of the Temple and passed his days in the service of the Lord (*lit.* carrying out the wishes of the Lord).

86. In the 9th year of his rule a Mohammeden named Ahmed Beg came. Having come to Puri, he took away the queens etc. of the harem of the king along with himself to Cuttack. The king stayed in the Fort of Māṇatira (=Māṇitrī) in the district of Khuruḍhā where he had constructed a palace. The four images which were in the state of *Anavasara* in the Temple were wrapped up in silken clothes by the *Daitapatis* and were taken away to their homes by the orders of the king. After that the king made efforts to capture the Mohammeden Chief. When the Mohammeden Chief came to know [of the moves of the king] he returned the queens etc. to the king, concluded a peace treaty with him and left.

87. After that a Mohammeden named [emperor] Sābāda-Pātisā (=Bādashah) came from southern regions, met the king and went towards Bengal. The king accompanied him upto the city of Yājapur. Having returned from there the king brought back the four images of the Lord which had been concealed in the palace situated inside the Fort of Māṇitrī, installed them in the great Temple of Puruṣottama

and re-started the traditional procedure of offering of cooked rice etc. [to the Lord].

Thereupon Sābāda-Pātisā, the Mohammeden [Chief], after losing battles in the South [again passed through Orissa] on way back to his country.

88. At that time the four images of the Lord were kept in the village called Meradā in the Fort of Khurudhā. He brought them from there and re-installed them at their proper place. Hereafter for many essential services to the Lord, he appointed [a minimum of] four functionaries for each service. A few days hereafter the king established a Brahmin village named *Narasiṃhapura*.

89. Then in the 25th year [of his rule] two Mohammedens named Nawab Matta Khān and Amurā Fateh Khān, entered into the palace of the king situated in the town of Puri towards the end of night and severed the head of the king upon the orders of the Mohammeden emperor of Delhi. The period of reign of this king amounts to 25 years. Adding this to the previous Śaka years, the figure comes to 1577.

90. Thereupon, the son of the brother of Narasiṃha Deva named *Gaṅgādhara Deva* became the king. He was [however] assassinated by his uncle (the brother of Narasiṃha Deva). His period of reign lasted for [just] one year. Having added this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 1578.

91. Hereafter the younger brother of Narasiṃha Deva named *Balabhadra Deva* ascended the thrown. During the period of his rule a one tusker elephant came from the forests into the Puruṣottama Kṣetra. The king got the animal trapped

and kept it in Puri. This king established a Brahmin village which goes by the name of *Balabhadrapura.* His period of reign lasted for 8 years. Adding this, figure to the previous ones, the number of Śaka years passed till now come to 1586.

92. *Mukunda Deva* became the king hereafter. He was fond of prostitutes and wives of others. He indulged in many types of immoral and unjust activities. Seeing his ill-deeds the ministers as well as [important] citizens conferred among themselves. They arrested the king and annointed a minister named *Kapila Bhramaravara* as the heir (=successor) to the throne. He ruled for sometime (lit. for a few days). Then the king managed to come out of prison by means of donations (i. e. bribes) and went to the Khaṇḍaite (=kṣatriya) ruler of the state of Dhenkanal. He stayed there for some time [with the king]. After a couple of days, he came from there and proceeded to the kingdom of Bāṅkī on boat. Sitting in the Fort of Bāṅkī he waged a war [against the minister Kapila Bhramara]. By the grace of the goddess Carcikā, the Fort of Bāṅkī was not broken (or captured). [Having won the battle] the king returned to Puruṣottama Kṣetra and stayed there.

93. Hereafter a Mohammeden named *Ananta Sura Khān* [=Abu Nasar Khan] came to Puruṣottama Kṣetra with the intention of burning it down. When he was on his way, however, lightning struck his army and killed a number of elephants and horses etc. Seeing this, [the Mohammedan] made a peace treaty with the king and retreated. Hereafter a divine voice was heard over the great temple : "There is a person presently lying fettered in the Fort of Barapadā (Baripadā). His name is Divyasiṃha Rāya,

He would verily become the king". Thereafter the king died because of pestillence (or, malignant tumour). His period of reign is 28 years. Adding this, the passed Śaka years come to 1614.

94. Hereafter his son *Divyasiṃha Deva* became the king. His two Chief ministers were known as *Rāmacandra* and *Paramānanda Paṭṭanāyaka*. Both [had] built [a new] capital at the Fort of Rathipur. He (Divyasiṃha Deva) was coronated in this Fort. He invited a Brahmin named *Gaṇinanda* to accept the priesthood of the royal family. In the 7th year of his rule, *Ekram Khān* as well as *Saramasta Khān* entered into the Fort upon the orders of the emperor of Delhi. At that time the four images of Lord Jagannātha were concealed within the inner precincts of the Temple towards the West of the temple of goddess Vimalā and another (counterfieted) wooden images were placed on the jewel pedestal of the main Temple. The other (metallic) images which are usually kept in the southern chamber of Lord Jagannātha were taken away from the Temple and kept a few miles away in a Fort named *Kokala* (near Ranpur). A large army then came [and entered into the Puruṣottama Kṣetra]. The royal watchman sent by the king to have an appraisal of the army came back and reported to the king that there were 25,000 horses, 1,200 elephants, 2,000 camels and 1,00,000 foot-soldiers. The whole army marched together and stormed the Temple of Jagannātha. They broke the Lion-Gate, took possession of the *Cakra* (discus) from the building known as Bhoga Maṇḍapa and carried away with them the four wooden statues. Closing the Southern Gateway, the whole army went for the conquest of southern regions. There was a small entrance on the southern side of the boundary wall. Through this

entrance the Temple servants used to come during the night and offered Naivedya etc. to the Deities. But the festivals like water sports, abduction of Rukmiṇi and the performance of the marriage ceremony [of the Lord] could not take place.

95. On the 20th day of the Sun's transit in the zodiac sign of Libra, the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika, on a Saturday, there was a heavy rain accompanied by cyclone. Then by the force of the cyclone the Discus of the Great Temple which crowns the spire with a flag fell down in front of the shrine of Gaṇeśa situated towards the west of the main Temple. Many dwellings in the Puri town were destroyed. A large number of human beings, cattle and animals died. Thereupon the prices greatly shot up. The paddy measuring one *bharaṇa* came to cost 50 *Kārṣāpaṇa*. A large number of people died because of this [unprecedented inflation]. Hereafter the Chief of the Mohammedens, the minister (i. e. Army commander) of the Mughal Badshah (who had invaded the Temple and had previously gone towards the South) met with his death in the country of the South. His brother returned taking the dead body through the town of Puri on his way back home. Thereupon the entrance to the Temple etc. blocked by the Mohammedens was cleared by orders of the king and the gateway etc. opened. The holy images were installed on the jewel throne as before and one started offering them cooked food etc. as per old practice.

96. Hereafter in the 21st year of his rule the king set out with his army to conquer the kingdom of *Bāṅkī*. The protector of the Fort of Bāṅkī put up a tough fight [and defeated] Divyasiṃha Deva. The king having lost the battle came

to the Temple of Jagannātha, removed his turban and supplicated the Lord with the following words: "O Lord, the king of Bāṅkī has defeated me by the force (i. e. with the help) of the Goddess *Carcikā*. I had to face this humiliation, though I am your [devoted] servant." Then in the night the Lord commanded Goddess *Ālambā* that Carcikā must not be allowed to enter the Kṣetra of the Lord. Goddess Ālambā did as ordered. Then Carcikā went to the king of Bāṅkī and told him: "Because of you the Lord has become angry with me and has also debarred me from serving Him. You should leave the Fort and go away". He (the king of Bāṅkī) did what he was told. The king, thereupon, again received instructions in his dream to march against Bāṅkī and was assured that he would certainly come out victorious. Having heard this the king went [with his army to Bāṅkī]. In the 22nd year of his reign he broke the Fort of Bāṅkī and plundered the city. In this year he installed the Blue Discus on the top of the Temple as its [prominent] mark. In the 23rd year the king died in a monastry named *Baḍa* (big) *Santadāsa*. The period of this king is of 23 years. With the addition of this, Śaka years passed till now become 1637.

97. After that a person named *Gopīnatha Vidyādhara* who had been the minister of the king, assassinated a number of persons belonging to the royal family and ascended to the throne assuming the title of *Hare Kṛṣṇa Deva*. In the 2nd year of his rule he established a Brahmin Village named Harekṛṣṇa-pura. He appointed *Nīlāmbaradāsa*, a scion of the family of Gāyatrī Dāsa, as his royal preceptor. He was also assigned the duties of the Superintendent of charities in the royal administration. In the 3rd year [of his rule] his minister named *Bhagvat Bhramaravara* cons-

tructed a stone-gallery in the Temple, now known as *Acintā Pāhaṇḍa* which extends from the Temple kitchen to the Bhoga Maṇḍapa (in order to carry the cooked prasāda in a polution-free manner). The uncle of Bhramaravara named *Dharma Haricandana*, constructed the Jagamohana palace to the temple of *Yamesvara*. This Bhagavat Bhramaravara, the minister, got expelled another minister named *Lokanātha Vidyādhara* from the palace of the king. The latter came to *Roḍaṅgi* (Dist. Puri) and took shelter in its Fort. [The minister Bhramaravara] also got the eyes of *Nilāmbara Rājaguru* scooped out who was a friend of Lokanāth Vidyādhara. The period of rule of this king lasted for five years. This makes a total of 1642 years of Śaka era.

98. Hereafter *Gopīnātha Deva* came to throne. He was very fond of women [and did not have time to mind his royal administration]. Seeing the king to be of this nature, his minister formed a council and they looked after the affairs of the state. A minister of this king named *Harihara Rāuta Rāya* established a Brahmin Village called *Gopīnathapur*. The reign of this king lasted for 7 years. The addition of these 7 years brings the total number of Śaka years passed to 1649.

99. Hereafter his son named *Rāmacandra Deva* became the ruler. Having taken his army he marched with his minister *Veṇu Bhramaravara* against the Mohammedan ruler of Cuttack, fought with him and drove him away from the Bārābāṭi Fort. After that he marched with his minister to the kingdom of Banpur, defeated its ruler named *Śrīhari Candana* in battle and annexed his state. Having returned from there, he proceeded to the state of Banki and fought with its ruler. A soldier who was apparently sent for a

different reason (?) by the king met the minister Veṇu Bhramaravara and cut his head. Thereupon the king fought a war against the state of Banki, was however, defeated. He returned to his capital Khurudhā, raised an army, fought again with the ruler of the Banki and destroyed his Fort. After that he annexed his state. As the destiny would have it, he also severed the head of *Śrīcandana*, the ruler of Banki.

100. After some time from hence, the Mohammedan ruler posted in the capital of Cuttack named *Matta* (Masta) *Khan* took the king prisoner by a trick. Thereafter he reinstated [the hereditory line of] rulers in the states of *Dompārā* and *Bānkī*. After that he constructed 18 Forts in the state of Khurudha starting from the town of Puri at the places like Rāhāng, Lembāi, Shirāi, Chaubīskud and Chārparganā etc. and stationed foot-soldiers (=infantry) in all these Forts. After that he brought the king of Pāṭiā and installed him on the throne of Gajapati (at Khurudhā). The ministers of the king, apprehending sacrilege of the Jagannātha statues at the hand of that Muslim ruler, won over a minister of Masta Khān whose name was Sheikh. By his permission they carried away the four images of Lord Jagannātha to the state of Banpur and kept them there in a village named *Hantuāḍa*. Sensing danger, from there they removed them to a village named *Maradā* situated in the state of Kodalā-Aṭhagarh. During the reign of Rāmacandra Deva the ruler of Pāṭiā named *Padmanābha Deva* ruled [over the kingdom of Gajapatis] for a period of four years. After that from Nagpur in the West there came *Choṭanātha* who was a general in the army of *Budhaji Bhoslā*, the Minister of the Marathas. He re-instated king Rāmacandra Deva on his throne and brought back the

four images of Jagannātha [to Puri]. The king installed the Images on the Jewel Throne of the Great Temple and re-started the procedure of offering cooked food to the Deities as before. Sometime hereafter the king expired. His period of rule is 11 years. Addition of these to the previous years makes a total of 1660 years of Śaka era.

101. Thereafter the son of Rāmacandra Deva named *Vīra Keśarī Deva* ascended the throne. During the period of his reign there came from Bengal *Allauddin Khan* the Chief of the Mohammedans and fought with the Marathas. He, however, met with defeat whereupon a treaty was signed between the two in which Allauddin Khan agreed to pay 1/4th of the revenue (*"Chauth"*) of Bengal and Orissa to the Marathas. From then onward the Marathas ruled over Orissa. After sometime the same chief of the Mohammedans came once more with a huge army to Cuttack and entered into the Fort. He paid respect to the king [of Khurudhā] and came to the town of Puruṣottama. He took bath in the sea, circumambulated the Temple from outside and returned to Cuttack. The king also came to the town of Purī, and had a *darśana* of the Lord and stayed in the Royal Palace there. After a few days the king returned to his capital Khurudhā.

102. Then in the 8th year of the rule of this king, the queen mother built a pavilion called *Muktimaṇḍapa* for people (=Brahmins) to take rest there in front of the temple of Nṛsiṃha within the precincts of Jagannātha Temple. He also carried out the white-washing of the temple of Nṛsiṃha. Then in the 13th year of his rule, on the 5th day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, [a large number of] animals and human beings etc. of the country met with their death due to a heavy cyclone. The blue Discus at the top

of the Temple was also twisted. The Discus installed on the top of Mukhaśālā (the forepalace of the Temple) fell on the ground. The ministers under the orders of the king got the same type of Discus made and installed it on the Temple. The queen mother excavated a tank in the West of the Brahmin Village named *Hare Kṛṣṇapura.*

103. Then upon the orders of the king, *Śrīdhara Paṭṭanāyaka,* a general of the royal army, marched against Banki, took its ruler prisoner and bringing him to Khurudhā incarcerated him. In the 17th year of his rule the king went to Banpur to have a *darśana* (of Bhagavatī ?). In this very year a general of his army named *Maṇa Siṃha* constructed a stone boundary-wall around the main temple of Jagannātha. In the 29th year of his reign two Marathas named Jānujī Bhoslā and Mohana Siṃha from Nagpur in the West came for a *darśana* of the Lord. Of these two, Jānujī went back to his country after witnessing the festival of *Guṇḍicā Yātrā.* [The other] named Mohana Siṃha died [however] of bodily pain. His money and belongings etc. were surrendered to the king by one of his servants named Rāmajī under the royal orders. Due to protest [against the greedy mentality of the king] the Śrī Kṣetra became almost deserted [of the temple functionaries ?].

104. Then after sometime the seniormost queen of the king got the Temple of Jagannātha white-washed. She also built a canopy (Maṇḍapa) on the jewel-pedestal of the Lord. She layed out the floor of the sanctum sanctorum with black stone and constructed a *Toraṇa* (arched gateway) for the swing-festival of the Lord on the platform [meant for the festival]. The queen mother, queens and ministers of the king commissioned a number of temples, tanks and step-wells etc. Then the king succumbed to the law of Time

and went to heaven. His period of rule was of 43 years. Adding this, the Śaka years become 1703.

105. Hereafter his grandson (the son of his daughter ?) named *Divyasiṃha Deva* became the ruler. In the 3rd year of his reign, he came to have a *darśana* of the Lord and after having had the *darśana*, stayed in the town of Puri. On this occasion *Chemnājī Bhoslā* from Nagpur also came and had a *darśana* of the Lord. The king honoured him. His preceptor named *Govinda Brahmacārī* cleaned Narendra- and Indradyumna- tanks of slime and constructed a stone embankment around them. He brought the Aruṇa pillar from the Kṣetra of Koṇārka and erected it at the Lion's Gate. He white-washed the main temple. In the park of the village *Alasā* he installed the image of *Satyavādī*. The king met with his death due to bodily pain (cramps). The period of rule of this king is 18 years. With the addition of this the passed Śaka years come to 1721.

106. Hereafter his son named *Mukunda Deva* became the ruler. In the 2nd year of his rule *Maniā Bāpū Sāheb* came from Nagpur accompanied by his mother, had a *darśana* of Lord Jagannātha and after staying for some time at Cuttack, he left for his home. In the 10th year of his rule there came from the southern country a chief of the *Hūṇas*, known as 'Engrej' (English), and presented one lac silver coins to the king. Seeing the approach of the British, the Marathas fled away. The chief of the Hūṇas entered into the Fort of Bārābāṭī situated at Cuttack and took possession of the kingdom [of Orissa].

107. Hereafter Mahārājā Mukunda Deva became an opponent of the British under the influence of ill-counsel of his wicked ministers and started fighting against them. There-

upon the soldiers of the British invaded the Fort of Khurudhā and conquered it in the ensuing battle. The king fled away. After some time the king reconciled himself with the British. The Chief of the British punished the wicked ministers of the king with death by hanging. The king was posted (i. e. ordered to stay) at Midnapur. After some time he was brought back to Puri and was interned there. After that in the 16th year [of his rule] a minister of the king named *Jagat Bandhu Vidyādhara* came with foot-soldiers belonging to the country of Orissa, entered into the town of Puri, drove away the few British soldiers who were living there and burnt down their houses etc. Thereupon the Chief of the Hūṇas came from Cuttack with artillery units and drove away *Jagat Bandhu Vidyādhara* (from Puri). The Mahārājā was then taken away by the British and kept in the Bārābāṭī Fort. After some time the king met with his end in the Bārābāṭī Fort after he had annointed his son as successor to the throne. The period of the rule of this king lasted for 20 years. Upon adding this, the Śaka years passed till now come to 1741.

108. Hereafter Ramacandra Deva became the ruler [of Khurudhā].

At present the total number of years of Kaliyuga passed hitherto are 4921. During this a total number of 99 kings ruled, the sum total of whose period of rule comes to 4756 years. The period during which there were no kings and the state was ruled by *Raktabāhu* and *Kālā Pahāḍa* etc. consists of 165 years. The total of these two figures makes out the total number of the passed years of Kaliyuga, which are 4920. Of these the number of years during which the rule of Marathas prevailed [in Orissa] comes to sixtyfive.

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APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS

(acc. to Kaṭakarājavaṃśāvali)

A. PRE-ŚAKA PERIOD

	Name of the ruler	Period of rule	Duration of rule in Kali era
1.	Yudhiṣṭhira	12	0–12
2.	Parīkṣit[a]	757	12–769
3.	Janamejaya	512	769–1281
4.	Saṃvara	410	1281–1691
5.	Gautama	373	1691–2064
6.	Mahendra	215	2064–2279
7.	Ṣaṣṭhideva	134	2279–2413
8.	Saśāṅkadeva	150	2413–2563
9.	Vajranābha	117	2563–2680
10.	Śaraśaṅkhadeva	115	2680–2795
11.	Haṃsadeva	122	2795–2917
12.	Bhojarāja	127	2917–3044
13.	Vikramārka	135	3044–3179
			(=3101 B.C. to 78 A.C.)

Note–*The Kaliyuga commenced in the year* 3101 *before the birth of Christ. In order to get the above dates in Pre-Christian era (B. C.), therefore, one has to subtract them from* 3101 (*e. g., Yudhiṣṭhira* 3101 *B.C.*–3089 *B.C.*=0-12).

B. AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF ŚAKA ERA

	Name of the ruler	Period of rule	Duration of rule in Śaka era
14.	Karmārjita	65	0–65 ŚE
15.	Vaṭukeśvaradeva	51	65–116
16.	Tribhuvanadeva	43	116–159
17.	Nirmaladeva	45	159–204
18.	Bhīmadeva	37	204–241
19.	Śobhanadeva	4	241–245
20.	Candradeva	5	245–250
21.	Yavana Kings (of Delhi)	146	250–396 (=78 A.C.–474 A.C.)

[*Stay of the Jagannātha statues in the village* Gopalī : 192 *years i. e. from* 204 *to* 396 *ŚE*]

THE KESARIS

22.	Yayāti	52	396–448 ŚE
23.	Sūrya	57	448–505
24.	Ananta	40	505–545
25.	Lalāṭa	54	545–599

[*Construction of Liṅgarāja Temple* 588 *ŚE*]

26.	Kanaka	20	599–619
27.	Nara	12	619–631
28.	Padma	10	631–641
29.	Vṛddha	15	641–656
30.	Vaṭukeśvaradeva	11	656–667
31.	Gaja	12	667–679
32.	Vasanta	2	679–681
33.	Gopa	17	681–698
34.	Bharata	20	698–718

Name of the ruler	Period of rule	Duration of rule in Śaka era
35. Kavi	21	718–739
36. Kāma	19	739–758
37. Kośala	22	758–780
38. Caṇḍa	21	780–801
39. Pracaṇḍa	19	801–820
40. Dhruva	10	820–830
41. Vijaya	15	830–845
42. Caṇḍapāla	18	845–863
43. Madhusūdana	16	863–879
44. Dharma	10	879–889
45. Jaya	11	889–900
46. Nṛpa	15	900–915
47. Marakata	14	915–929
48. Tripura	10	929–939
49. Mādhava	12	939–951
50. Govinda	10	951–961
51. Nṛtya	16	961–977
52. Narasiṃha	17	977–994
53. Kṛpā	10	994–1004
54. Matsya	20	1004–1024
55. Ārya	15	1024–1039
56. Sugaja	13	1039–1052
57. Sānumanta	2	1052–1054
		(=474 A.C.–1132 A.C.)
Total	658 years	

Name of the ruler	Period of rule	Duration of rule in Śaka era
	THE GANGAS	
58. Cuḍaṅga	20	1054–1074 ŚE
59. Gaṅgasūra	14	1074–1088
60. Ekajaṭā-Kāmadeva	5	1088–1093
61. Madana-Kāmadeva	4	1093–1097
62. Anaṅgabhīmadeva	27	1097–1124
[*Construction of Jagannātha Temple in* 1119 *ŚE*]		
63. Gaja (=Rāja) -rājeśvara	35	1124–1159
64. Lāṅgūla-Narasiṃhadeva	45	1159–1204
[*Construction of Koṇārka Temple in* 1200 *ŚE*]		
65. Kavi-Narasiṃha	25	1204–1229
66. Pratāpa-Narasiṃha	20	1229–1249
67. Kavikānta-Narasiṃha	2	1249–1251
68. Kajalā-Narasiṃha	1	1251–1252
69. Śaṅkhabhānu-Narasiṃha	7	1252–1259
70. Niḥśanka-Bhānudeva	24	1259–1283
71. Bali-Bhānudeva	21	1283–1304
72. Vīra-Bhānudeva	19	1304–1323
73. Kali-Bhānudeva	13	1323–1336
74. Matta-Bhānudeva	23	1336–1359
75. Akaṭā-Avaṭā-Bhānudeva	15	1359–1374
		(=1132 A.C.–1452 A.C.)
Total	320 years	

Name of the ruler	Period of rule	Duration of rule in Śaka era
	THE SURYAVAMSINS	
76. Kapileśvaradeva	27	1374–1401 ŚE
77. Puruṣottamadeva	25	1401–1426
78. Pratāparudradeva	28	1426–1454
79. Kāluā (-deva)	1	1454–1455
80. Pratāpadeva	1	1455–1456
81. Govinda Vidyādhara	7	1456–1463
82. Cakrapratāpadeva	8	1463–1471
83. Narasiṃhadeva	1	1471–1472
84. Raghurāja Jena	1	1472–1473
85. Tailanga Mukundadeva	8	1473–1481
86. Gauḍa-Govindadeva	2	1481–1483
87. Kālā Pahāḍa and allied Muslim Generals ("anarchy")	19	1483–1502 (=1452–1580 A.C.)
Total	128 years	
	THE KHURDDHA DYNASTY	
88. Rāmacandra	29	1502–1531 ŚE
89. Puruṣottamadeva	21	1531–1552
90. Narasiṃhadeva	25	1552–1577
91. Gaṅgādharadeva	1	1577–1578
92. Balabhadradeva	8	1578–1586
93. Mukundadeva II	28	1586–1614
94. Divyasiṃhadeva	23	1614–1637
95. Harekṛṣṇadeva	5	1637–1642
96. Gopīnāthadeva	7	1642–1649

	Name of the ruler	Period of rule	Duration of rule in Śaka era
97.	Rāmacandradeva, the II	11	1649–1670
98.	Vīrakeśarīdeva	43	1670–1703
99.	Divyasiṃhadeva	18	1703–1721
100.	Mukundadeva III	20	1721–1741
101.	Rāmacandradeva III	..	Continuing
			(=1580–1819 f.A.C.)

FORM IV

Particulars regarding "Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha" as required by the Registrar of News Papers

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I, G. C. Tripathi, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/- G. C. TRIPATHI

Publisher

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